133 bed of the Yunam river, which flows through it. In former times it must have been of some extent, and of considerable depth. When I saw it, in September, 1846, it was only 1,000 yards long and 500 yards broad. Moorcroft was informed "that it had been more extensive, but had been contracted by the falling into it of masses of rock." The gradual decrease in size has, however, been brought about by a very different cause; by the constant wearing away of the rocky barrier, which once dammed the river about one mile below the present end of the lake. Between these points the river has worn a channel through a mass of fine cream-coloured clay,* which once formed the bed of the Yunam lake. I found the lake of a very pale yellowish colour, which it had received from the cream-coloured clay deposits in the bed of a small stream upwards of half a mile above the lake. The extreme length must once have been about three miles, and the breadth varying from a quarter of a mile to more than a mile.

The *Hánlé-Tsho* is the largest sheet of fresh water that to my knowledge exists in Ladák. The extent of open water is not great, but the whole extent of swamp is between three and four miles in length. It is principally supplied by a rivulet called the Kongra-chu, which drains the lofty range of mountains to the westward of the Tshomoriri lake as far south as the Lának Pass. A second feeder flows from a southern range of mountains, that divide Rukchu from the Chinese district of Chu-
[136] mur-ti. A third small stream, which joins it from the
north-west, is full of fish, which attain a size of fourteen
[792] or fifteen inches. To the east of the lake is situated the

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* Moorcroft, I. p. 217, also notices this fine clay.

picturesque monastery of Hanlé, on the end of a rocky spur about 500 feet above the plain. Round the foot of this spur the waters of the lake find an outlet into the long and level plain of Mangkang, through which the Hanlé rivulet winds from side to side for a distance of thirty miles. Towards the northern end of the valley there are several low flat-topped hills, with large masses of alluvial clay deposits still adhering to them in horizontal strata. As the total fall from Hanlé to the northern end of the valley cannot be more than 150 feet, there can be little doubt that the Hanlé Tsho once covered the whole of these level plains, and formed a noble lake fully forty miles in length by fifteen miles in extreme breadth, to the south of Hanlé. The plain is now pretty thickly covered with Dámá or Tibetan furze, which here grows to the unusual height of three and four and even five feet.

133* [792] ●

Small pieces of water are numerous all over Ladák, but none that I have seen are deserving of notice for any peculiarity, excepting the celebrity of their names. Two of them are mentioned by Abul Fazl in the Ayin Akbari.* "From the top of the mountains of Keetwar (Kashtwar) issue two springs, one called Chandra and the other Bhágá; * * they unite their streams and are then called Chandra Bhágá," which is the well-known Sanscrit name of the Chenáb. The Suraj Dal is a small oblong sheet of clear green water, dammed at the western end by masses of splintered rock that have fallen from above. It is about a quarter of a mile long and only half as broad. A small rill of melted snow flows into it from the east; but the rill is altogether so

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* Gladwin's Ayin Akbari, II. p. 108.

775 the "Gem of Majesty," and the Tashi Lama is called
793 *Panchen Rinpochhe*, the "Gem of Learning."

All who have taken the vows of celibacy are called by
● 792 the collective name of *Gédun*, the clergy. A monk is styled Lama, and a nun Ani. But the followers of the Gelukpa sect are divided into several classes. The lowest grade is the *Getshul*, or neophyte, and the *Gétshulma*,* or novice. The professed monk is called *Gelong*, and the professed nun *Gelongma*.

795 The principal sects in Tibet have already been mentioned, but there are some others deserving of notice. Of these the principal is the *Karmapa*,† or "believers in the efficacy of works." They are the same as the *Kármmikas* of Nepál. The *Kahgyudpas* are "believers in the succession of precepts." They are satisfied with the observance of the *Do* (sutras or aphorisms), and care not for the attainment of the esoteric doctrines of the *Sherchin* (Prajnáparamitá), or "transcendental wisdom." The *Brikhungpa* sect derives its name from the district of Brikhung. I know nothing of their tenets. All the above sects were offshoots of the Gelukhpa, and accordingly they wear yellow dresses. The Dukpa sect wear a red dress. They are numerous in Bhutan, and are found all over Tibet. I know nothing of their peculiar tenets; but from the name of the sect, *Dad-Dukpa*, which means "faith in the thunderer," I should suppose that they pay especial reverence to the holy *Dorje* (*Vajra*, or thunderbolt) which descended through the air, and fell at Sera in Tibet. A picture which I possess of the great Lama *Skyobba Jigten Gonpo*, of the red sect, represents him with the *Dorje* in his right hand.

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* See Plate XXIV.

† *Karma-pa*, naturalized from Sanscrit.

795 It seems probable, therefore, that the name of the sect
was derived as I have supposed.

IV.—DRESS—RITUALIC INSTRUMENTS.

292 Most of the Lamas in Ladák wear a red coat with
792 sleeves and long skirts secured by a red girdle. All
wear red boots. Most of them are bareheaded, but the
higher Lamas wear semicircular red caps. One great
Lama, the abbot of Lama Yurru, wears a peculiar hat,
formed of bands that diminish in width by steps towards
302 the top.* Most Lamas have their heads shaved, or the
792 hair cropped short; but the abbot's hair was uncut. The
pictures of the grand Lamas, both yellow and red, repre-
sent them without hair. This agrees with the practice
of the Indian Buddhists, who were obliged to shave
292 their heads. The Dharma Raja, or great Lama of the
792 red sect, wears a semicircular red cap similar to those of
the Ladáki Lamas.† His right arm is bare, but the rest
of his person is clothed in ample red garments, suitable
to a cold climate. The *Sanghati*, or kilt, and the *uttara-
sanghati*, or cloak, of the Indian Buddhists, are formed
into a coat with sleeves and skirt, and over this is worn
a robe or blanket. In all the pictures the *antara-vásaka*,
or "inner vest," is represented beneath the other dress.
This is no doubt shown purposely, to prove that the great
Lamas, according to the command of Sakya, never lay
aside their inner vests.

The Dalai and Tashi Lamas wear the same description of dress, but of a yellow colour. But all of them have transgressed the holy precept not to wear any ornamented

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* See Plates XXIII. and XXIV.

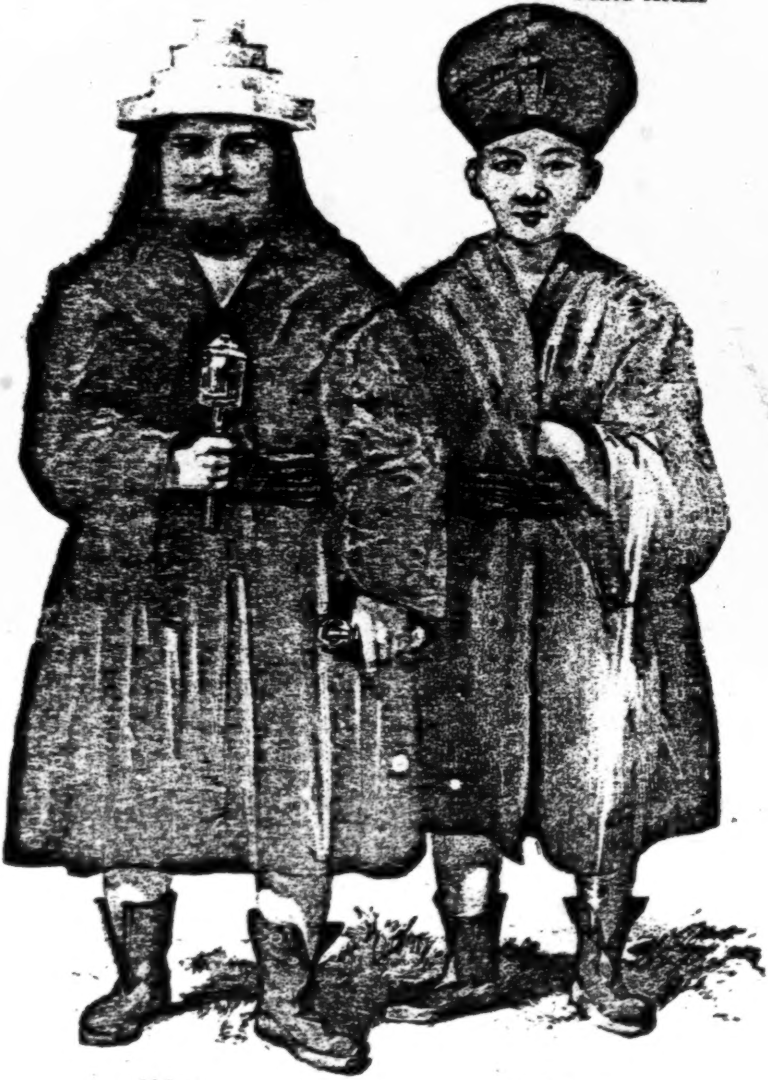
† See Plates XXII. and XXIII.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

292
792

p. 372a

Plate XXIII



Abbot High Lama

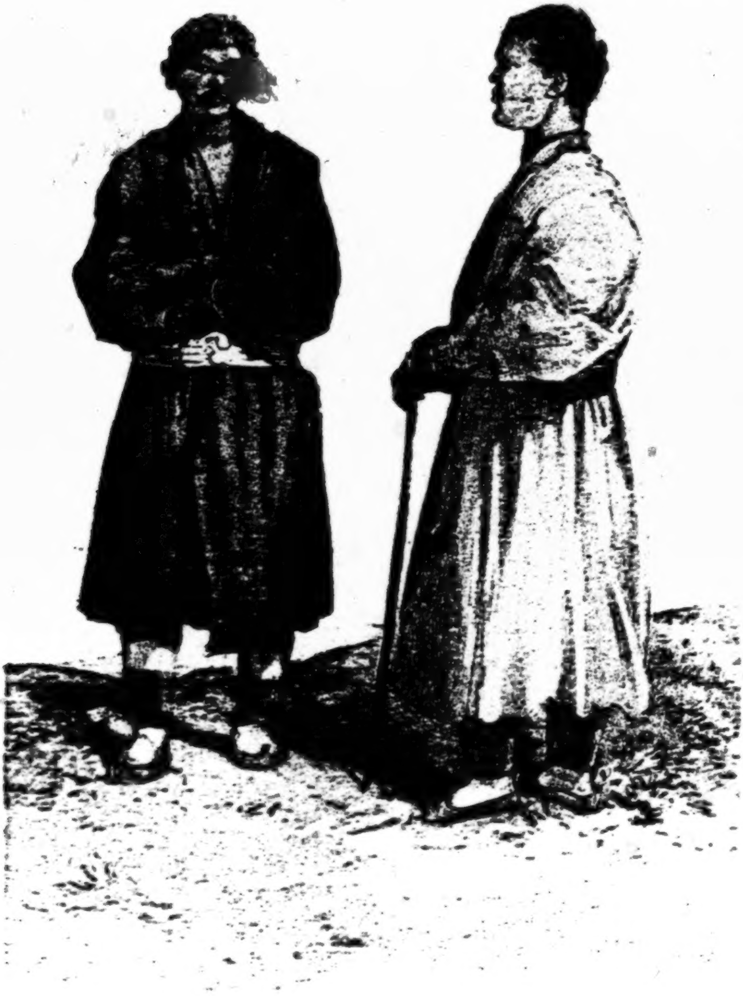
of LAMA YURRU

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

292 p. 372b

● 792

Plate XXIV



Dublo, aged 29.
a low Lama

Chiringjok, aged 22.
a Ge-Tshul (Gelukpa Sect.)

clothes, for they have yellow and red brocades, spangled 292
with flowers of gold. The Dalai and Tashi Lamas wear 792
peculiar conical caps with long lappets.

The ritualic instruments are three: the bell, the sceptre (or thunderbolt), and the prayer-cylinder.

The bell, *drilbu*,* is used during the performance of 796
daily service, but for what purpose I could not ascertain. It is represented in the left hand of the great Lama Skyobba Jigten, of the red sect, and it is placed on the throne at the feet of the great Dalai Lama Navang Lozang. The bell represented in the accompanying plate is formed of a very white brittle-looking metal. On the upper part are the syllables *tan*, *man*, *lan*, *ban*, *man*, *tsun*, *pan*, *bDrin*; which may, perhaps, be intended to represent eight notes of the bell. Inside, in three places, are the monosyllabic interjections *aum!* *àh!* *Hun!* The outside is chiefly ornamented with representations of the *dorjé*, or sceptre.

The sceptre, *dorjé*, is the vajra of the Indians. This holy instrument is said to have flown away from India, and to have alighted at Sera, in Tibet. That it was looked upon in India, from a very early time, as an object of reverence, or as an emblem of power, is proved by its being placed in the right hand of a raja in the Sánchi bas-reliefs,† which date as high as the beginning of the Christian era. It is also sculptured on the rock at Udegiri, where it is represented in one of the hands of Durga, who is slaying the Bhainsâsur. This sculpture is as old as the seventh or eighth century.

In Tibetan it is called *sera-pun-dze*, and the annual festival which has been established in its honour is one

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* *Dril-bu*, a "little bell." See Plate XXV.

† Eastern gateway, right pillar.

692 ARBITRATOR--GHatpo. This word means "old man" and is proba-
887 bly used in the sense of "arbitrator" as an old man is usually selected for the post of arbitrator.

601 [8] AUNT--áney (paternal) máchung (maternal).

777 AUSPICIOUS--táSHis or tráSHis also zhakskar (auspicious day for
787 commencing journey, etc., it corresponds to the Hindustani "mahoorat"). To fix or select an auspicious day is zhakskar lta ches. In this respect the Tibetan and Hindu procedure is identical.

589
601 BACHELOR--phórang--the word also means "widower."

453 [9] BANKER--There are no bankers in Ladák, where grain occupies
426 the position held by money in more civilized countries. The
●792 monasteries carry on trade in grain, they lend it out to villagers on the Indian sowai principle, that is to say for each 100 lent, 125 has to be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

852 BAPTIZE TO--thrus táng ches. When a name is given to a Tibetan
792 child the lama sprinkles the child with water and performs certain other rites, see also under heading "unction."

501 BARGE--nái (a boat or barge) dzaks (a raft consisting of inflated
281 sheep skins covered with a kind of wattle work).

243 BARLEY--sóa or swa (ordinary) and nas (beardless barley or grim).
262 Grim is the grain which is most largely grown in Ladák, it requires but little manure, and it ripens at greater altitudes than any other grain. From it is obtained the kind of flour known as "satoo," which constitutes the food of the ordinary Ladák peasant.

285 BASKET--tseypo (the grass mat basket of Ladák made in the shape of an inverted pyramid) also tenjon or trongmo (the Kashmiri kilta) huioog GHam (plain wicker work baskets) kundum (the low round wicker work baskets used for carrying fruit, flowers, etc.).

352 [10]
177 BED--charpa or mánjee. Prior to the advent of the Dogras, beds were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word.

792
796
778 CHURCH--chhoskhang. The Ladáki Buddhists do not as a rule assemble for public worship, though at the time of their New Year's day and on a few other occasions, large numbers of them go to the monasteries, to worship. The room into which they go is called the "chhoskhang" or "sacred books room."
778 In the house of nearly every rich Buddhist there is a room called the "hlakchung" in which idols are kept and where a lama is in constant attendance, to pray, and keep the lights burning. Nearly every poor man too has an idol room in his house called "chhodkhang".

764 [22]COFFIN--Buddhists burn their dead so do not require coffins, but a kind of box or coffin called rórGHam or rumGHam is used for the conveyance of a corpse to the burning ground. This
[792] box, which is square, and without any lid, belongs to the monastery conducting the funeral. It is used repeatedly for the same purpose.

534 [23]CONCH--tung. The Tibetans, like the Hindus, use the conch as a musical instrument in connection with worship. They attach a mouth-piece to one end and a sort of trumpet-shaped pipe to the other, to increase the sound. This instrument is called a kártung.

428
342 [25]COTTAGE--khángpa (or khámpa) is the general term for a house or cottage. The small house occupied by parents after having given up their ordinary house, to their eldest son, on the occasion of his marriage, is called "khángoo," while the bigger house or cottage, made over to the son, is called "khángchhen."

601 COUSIN--azhang (throogoo or) thoogoo (father"s brother's child). áney thoogoo (father's sister's child); ámey mingbey thoogoo (mother's brother's child). ámey máchung thoogoo (mother's sister's child).

231 COW--bálang general, zhodma when in milk, barkam not in milk, dzómo the hybrid cow, a cross between the tame yak bull and an ordinary cow. The cows of Ladák give very little milk sometimes not even a seer a day. The milk of the dzomo is not of so delicate a flavour as that of the cow, but it produces excellent butter.

[26]COWDUNG--lcha. It is usually collected and dried, and then used as fuel when it is called "lchey sokskir". 237 372

CUP--korey. Every Ladáki has his own cup or "korey." It is made of wood [27] and shaped like a large flat salt cellar. It is always carried about on the person. Ladákis do not approve of drinking out of the cup of any one not a relative of their own. 415 609

DAGGER--peechak ordinary, dorjèy phurba the magic dagger, used by Lamas in their rites. 778 772 411

DANCE--rtseys. The Ladákis have many kinds of dances, but to the European, they all appear very much alike; they are as uninteresting as the nautches of India. All Ladákis, except the ex-raja, join in dances, which are usually the occasion of much merriment and drinking of chhang.[1] The sword and dagger dances are those best worth seeing. 535 517

DANCER--trakSHózma or takSHózma, a professional female dancer. The professional dancers of Ladák are of a very superior caste, to the dancing women of India. In Ladák no shame attaches to the profession of a dancer. Zámindárs and well-to-do people have their daughters taught to dance in their childhood. The takSHózma usually belongs to the "hmang riks" caste; she may occasionally belong to the "tólbey riks," but not to the 3 lowest sub-divisions of that caste. The male professional dancers are called ngiópa or ngiáópa. An amateur dancer is called rtseykhan. 535 463 565 [564]

[29]

DEMON--rdud or hlandey or hlandrey. According to Jäschke rdud is the personified Evil Principle, the adversary of Buddha and the tempter of mankind, but unlike Satan of the Bible, not a fallen angel, and unlike Ahriman of the Persians, not an antagonist of Buddha, of equal power and influence. The rdud is merely an evil genius of the highest rank, by whose defeat Buddha will in the end be more glorified. The rdud is also identified with the God of love. In later times he has been split into four, and subsequently into numerous devils and she devils (rdudmo), hlandey or hlandrey signifies imp, demon or evil spirit, but see "Devil." 779 776

[1] [i.e. barley bear--Analyst]

[34]

583 DOWER--rinto or zho or in the case of Mahomedans "mehr." The sum of money paid by the bridegroom to the father or other nearest male relative of the bride. The goods given to a woman on her marriage, including what we should call her "trousseau," and "dot" is called "raktak".

534 DRUM--denjang the big drum--body of wood and played upon like our big drums; dolti a brass drum like a kettle drum; daman a kettle drum; daps a drum played with the hands like a tambourine; daroo a very peculiar little drum used by lámas when dancing. It is shaped like an hour-glass and held in the centre, short strings with small pieces of wood attached to their ends are fastened on at either end; and when the hand is shaken these pieces of wood come in contact with the parchment heads of the drum, and thus sound it. There being several strings at each end, the sound produced is rather that of a rattle than of a drum. Denjang (or dolti, etc.,) rdung ches to play the drum.

● [792]

273 DRUNKARD--rárospa or ráros or rároskhan. The Ladákis can not be called drunkards. They all drink chhang[1] very freely, and frequently get very cheery in consequence, but even in their cups they are usually good tempered and harmless. They seldom get dead drunk. The expression zeekopkop chha ches signifies to be fuddled, or partially intoxicated.

439
386 [35]DYE--tshos the durable dyes of the country, rang the bright, but not fast, dyes imported from India.

136
825 EAGLE--lák. The Chinese or Lhasa pug dogs are called "lák khee" because it is believed that if a human being lays hands upon a young eagle, when freshly hatched, the bird is transformed into a dog of the Chinese pug breed.

291 EAR FLAP--hnaslan or noslan. The woollen lappets worn by Ladáki women over their ears. In shape and size they resemble the blinkers worn by a carriage horse. They are edged with fur and are plaited into the hair.

731
823 EARTHQUAKE--samgul. Ladákis think that the earth is supported, in the midst of an ocean, on the back of a large fish, and that whenever this fish rolls about, earthquakes are felt. In LADÁK THEY ARE ALMOST UNKNOWN.

[1] [I.E, BARLEY BEER -- ANALYST]

Ladák they are almost unknown. 080

ECLIPSE--ngeendzin of sun, láandzin of moon. The Ladákis think that a demon eats the sun and moon, and that the poison from his teeth turns the sun or moon black, and thus causes the eclipse. 821

[37]ENTAIL--The law of entail among the Buddhists of Ladák is a peculiar one. When the eldest son of a Buddhist family marries, the property of the parents is divided; a small portion, sufficient for the support of the mother, the several fathers, (i.e., the mother's wedded husband and his younger brothers, who are also her "de facto" husbands), and any unmarried daughters there may be, is made over to the "great father," (i.e., the eldest of the several fathers), for their separate use, the remainder of the property is at once inherited by the eldest son. This process of dividing is called "khángoo khángchhen cho ches," the small portion of the property retained by the parents and sisters is called "khángoo," and that made over to the son is called "khángchhen." When the parents and sisters die or form fresh connections, the "khángoo" comes into the possession of the holder of the "khángchhen." The younger brothers live with their eldest brother, he is obliged to house and feed them and to share his wife with them. They are at liberty to remain with their brother, or to go out into the world, on their own account, whichever they like; but, if once a younger brother leaves the family house for good, he can not claim to return to it. This law of entail can not be set aside, and however badly a son may behave, he can not be disinherited. When the son takes possession of the "khángchhen," all the duties attaching to the family land (zhing) devolve upon him. The state does not recognize the division of the land, and regards him as the owner of the entire holding, and he alone has to pay the [38] land revenue, and supply forced labour, etc., when required by the State. The parents and sisters have no duties to the State to perform. 428 592 [595] [473] [651]

If an eldest brother dies, or becomes a Láma, (in which case he cannot marry, unless he renounces his priestly calling,) he drops out of the family circle, and the next brother takes his place. An only son never becomes a Láma, if his parents have any property. [792]

When there is no time to send for the beygáris next on the roster for duty, or when for any other reason it is not convenient to do so, a drum is beaten in the bazar of Leh and notice is cried out that each house, belonging to persons of the labouring classes, must supply one labourer, at a certain time and place. This kind of forced labour is called a hala. It is not frequent and does not bear heavily on the people. 651

The word thal or thral means "tax" and sá-thal means "land-tax," with reference either to the ordinary revenue assessment on the land, or to the forced labour claimable from land owners.

The word ranthak-i thal or "water-mill-tax" denotes another kind of forced labour. If the Kashmir officials require to have grain ground they send it down to one of the adjacent water mills, the owner of which has to at once set aside whatever work he may be engaged upon, and grind the State grain free of charge.

Monastery lands are free from beygar demands. [793]

The people of Ladák were subject to this beygár tax even during the time of the Ladák Kings, but they object to the beygár system more than to any thing else in connection with the Dogra administration. They say that they do not object to the assessment on the land, for though it is heavy, its amount is a fixed one, and the dates for the payments of the several instalments are known to all, while with beygár the case is otherwise, there is no limit to it, and no one can be certain for a day that he will not be seized as a beygári ro "unpaid labourer." 661 651

In 1885 an attempt was made by the Kashmir authorities to do away with the "Forced labour" system, and in lieu thereof to impose an additional cash charge upon the land, but the Lámas, who hold a large amount of land and who are already exempt from all "forced labour" were sufficiently powerful to get the proposed reform set aside. For further information see under "Tax." 664 651

[48]FORT--kila or peeoo a tower or minaret. The proper word is dzona, but it is not generally understood in Ladák, where there are no forts, except those erected by the Kashmir Government. The chief Lhása official at Gárdok is termed the "dzongspon" or "fort commandant." 712 648

[68]

775 792 In Ladák there are only four resident skooSHoks, who preside over the monasteries at Speetuk, Tiksay, Phiáng and Reyzong, respectively.

There is also a skooSHok belonging to Heymis the largest and richest of all the monasteries of Ladák, but, for some unexplained reason, some 3 or 4 births back, the skooSHok took birth at Lhása, and refused to come to Ladák, and since then, rebirths of this Heymis avatár have always taken place at Lhása.

The present incarnation must now be about 20 years of age. I am told that as he is a Lhása man, he does not care to come to Ladák, but that if ordered by the Kashmir Durbar to come, he [642] would obey. The truth of the matter is probably that he, having been brought up at the holy city of Lhása, where the Buddhist priesthood reigns supreme, does not care to come to Ladák where the Dogras are masters and Lámás occupy a very subordinate position. The information which I have been able to gather as to the rules under which a spirit, for the first time, becomes an incarnation, is not very clear, but, apparently, when any great Láma or other very holy and virtuous man dies, his spirit, instead of being reborn in the ordinary way, may take rebirth in the form of a "sprulskoo" or incarnation--after this, provided the "sprulskoo" leads a virtuous life in this world, it is optional with him to attain nirvana at once, or should he so desire, his spirit, after his death, is repeatedly reborn as a "sprulskoo." If on the other hand an incarnation leads a wicked life in this world, his punishment is, that his spirit, instead of being reborn as an incarnation, will take any ordinary rebirth.

An account of the different kinds of form in which a spirit may be re-embodied, will be found under the heading "Rebirth."

775 792 787 As regards the rebirth of the spirit of an incarnation, or sprulskoo the procedure is simple enough. Either the incarnation, before death, tells his disciples the circumstances under which, and the place in which, his spirit will be re-born, or should he die, without having given any such indication, his followers, the moment he dies, go and consult learned Lámás, who advise where the spirit will be reborn. The disciples then, in accordance with the instructions given, proceed to the spot indicated, and ascertain if any woman has conceived, or given birth to a child which may be the re-embodiment of the late skooSHok's spirit. If such is the case, they note the fact and go away for the time, but if it is not so, then they conclude that a mistake has been made, and they refer to the Lámas for fresh instructions and so

on, until they succeed in finding a child which may be the one 775
for which they are looking. Having found their child, they 792
leave it in its own home till it attains the age of about four
years, then the disciples of the dead skooshok come to the 787
child's house and bring with them, the prayer books praying
wheel (máni chhos khor) sceptre (dorjey) bell (treeloo or more
correctly dreelboo) rosary (thánga or thránga) and other property
of the deceased, and after mixing them up with similar articles
belonging to other persons, they call upon the child to prove
that he is the incarnation of the deceased, by pointing out whicl
of the articles he recognizes as having belonged to him in his
former life. If the child does all this satisfactorily, and it is
usually the case that he does, then he is announced to be a
"skooskieys" or child skooSHok, and he is taken away from his
home, never to return, and takes up his abode at the monastery
(gonpa) of which his is the presiding spirit.

If the child fails to prove himself to be the sought for incarnation, it is assumed that a mistake has been made, and a fresh search is made in another place, and so on, until the disciples are satisfied that they have found the "skooskieys" they are looking for. Parents never object to their children being thus taken from them.

On arrival at the monastery, the child's education is taken in hand 792
by the monks, and when he reaches the age of about sixteen 874
years, he is sent off to Lhása, the Rome of Buddhism, to complete his studies. After remaining there for from four to eight years, his education is complete and he returns to his own monastery as a sprulskoo, or skooshok or Incarnation.

A sprulskoo does not live inside the monastery, but in a small house 792
(called taSHak) attached to it-- [69] He does not eat with other 775
people, and though his parents and relatives may occasionally come to see him, they can not live with him, or he with them. It is thoroughly believed that he is an incarnation, and the consequences thereof are philosophically accepted.

The skooshok is the spiritual head of the monastery, and it is his duty to superintend everything concerning religion. He is not expected to interfere in worldly concerns, but occasionally may do so.

The only skooshok I have ever met is Lobzhang Eeshes Stanbey Gialsam, (i.e. good dispositioned heavenly religion of Buddha flag of victory) the present avaţar of the Speetuk monastery,

775 a youth of 26 years of age who has lately returned from Lhása
79v where he had been for 14 years. Last spring, under the orders of the Maharajah of Kashmir, he went down with a party of his monks, to Srinagar, there to show the religious mask-dance (vide "Festival") to H.E. the Commander-in-Chief in India, and on his return to Leh, he came to see me.

He was handsomely dressed in a robe made of a particular kind of dark golden coloured and yellow embroidered China silk, which none but skooshoks or great personages are allowed to wear, and he had on Chinese long boots, which he did not remove when he
[576] entered the house. His head and face were closely shaved and one arm was bare. On entering the room, he bowed and then presented the customary "khatak" or "scarf of salutation," which I accepted.

He stayed about half an hour and impressed me very favourably; his manner, and general appearance was superior to anything I have seen among other Lámas or people of Ladák.

[771] He seemed to think that, for Buddhists, the Buddhist faith was the correct and necessary faith, while for others, their own religion, whatever it might be, was the right religion for them.

My friend the Skooshok who has been born 17 times already, (and who is an incarnation of Pakula, a contemporary and disciple of
648 Buddha) is apparently, a man of both worlds; for in reply to my enquiries hoping that he had not been inconvenienced by the heat of Kashmir and the journey down, he told me, with a twinkle in his eye, that the game had proved worth the candle, as he had succeeded in inducing the Maharajah of Kashmir to repay him for his trouble, by remitting twenty per cent of the revenue charge on all lands belonging to the Speetuk monastery. Some two years ago in the face of great opposition from the Lámás, the revenue charges, all over the country, were increased by four annas in the rupee, and this increase it is which has been remitted.

835 INCEST--hngien (or SHgnien or rgioot) SHik ches (lit. to break relation). According to Ladák custom, the forbidden relations, for a man, are his mother, sister, daughter, aunt, grandmother and niece.

751 [72]INOCULATE TO--drumpa (or dumpa) tsok ches. This word also means to vaccinate. Ladákis have no faith in vaccination, but

grass, grain, wood, etc., to these merchants and their followers. WT 443

The Government of India stations a Political Officer at Leh. He is termed "the British Joint Commissioner," and under the terms of the Commercial treaty executed between the British Government and the Kashmir Durbar in April 1870, he, jointly with the Kashmir Joint Commissioner, exercises civil and criminal jurisdiction, in cases wherein both or either of the parties concerned are foreigners, that is to say others than subjects of the Maharajah of Kashmir. WT 648 692

LADAKI--The people of Ladák, irrespective of their religion, are spoken of, and speak of themselves, as, Ladaki or Ladagi or Ladakpa or Ladagpa. The people of India and other foreigners have çorrupted this word into "Ladakhi," but this last word is incorrect, and is never used by a Tibetan. A Buddhist Ladaki, as distinguished from any other class of Ladaki, is termed, and terms himself, "bód or "bót while a Buddhist woman is termed "bóti." The word "bhôt" is incorrect, and is never used by Ladakis, though almost always used by Indians and other Asiatics. WT 101

A Mahomedan half-caste (the only Mahomedans, who are natives of the country, are half-castes) is called an "ArGHon." For a full description of these, see under the heading "Half-caste." WT [563]

LADLE--tázoo or trázoo (general), cháthum or respectfully solthum (the brass ladle used for putting tea into a tea cup), chhoothum (the large brass ladle, with which Ladakis fill their water pots at a spring). WT 415

LAMA--lâma or lâmba. In classical Tibetan, "la" means "high" and "ma" means, "the one," thus the literal meaning of the word "Lama" is "the high one" and thus "priest," Buddhism was first introduced into Ladák during the reign of Asóka, more than 2,000 years ago. Before that time the religion of the country was "an epicurean athiesm" (vide Cunningham"s Ladák, p. 357). During the early days of Buddhism in Tibet, all Lámâs (i.e., monks or priests) belonged to a single sect, but in the middle of the fourteenth century a reforming spirit arose, in the person of a Lama named "Tsongkhápa," the WT 792 779 T 792 779

9

T builder, and first abbot khanpo), of the great Galdán or
792 (GHaldán) monastery.

779 Láma Tsongkhápa prohibited clerical marriages, and generally
WT speaking re-introduced a stricter and more austere form of Bud-
792 dhism of Lamaism, which was not approved of by all. The
779 consequence was that a schism arose in the Buddhist church,
which then divided itself into two sects.

T The reformers, followers of Láma Tsongkhápa, assumed the title of
"Geylukspa" or "the virtuous ones," while the conservative
792 party was called Drukpa or Dukpa or "zhámár," e. i., "Red
795 cap."

779 The original dress of all Lamas was a red petticoat (SHamthap), a
WT waistcoat (stotGHak) embroidered in gold and other colours, a
red shawl (zanggos), thrown over the left arm and shoulder,
792 and wrapped round the body, leaving the left arm bare, a red
795 cap (zhamar or panjoo or teebee márpo), and a red cloth bag
779 (chhapreel) about 12 x 6 inches, suspended from the left side by
a string round the waist, and reaching half way down to the
knee. In the neck of this bag is a pocket, in which is kept a
small long-necked brass vessel (chhapluk), containing about an
ounce of water, called "hngakschhoo" "or incantation water,"
with a drop or two of which the Lámás render themselves cere-
monially pure, after performing the offices of nature and at
certain other [80] times. The above is at present the dress of
the "Red caps," who in Ladák are spoken of as "Drukpas" or
"Dukpas" but never as "Zhámárs."

The "Geylukspa" dress is very nearly the same, neither sect wears trousers, both wear the red petticoat, red shawl, and many coloured waistcoat, but the cap and bag (chhapreel) of the Geylukspa, instead of being red, are of a darkish canary colour--beyond this, except on great occasions when Geylukspas of high rank wear a yellow silk coat under, or instead of, the red shawl, there is no difference in dress between the so-called "red" and "yellow" sects. In Cunningham's very excellent book on Ladák, there is a coloured picture of a Geylukspa. "Geytshul" or neophyte, dressed in a yellow garment reaching from neck to feet, and drawn in round the waist, by means of a dark coloured girdle. I showed this picture to the SkooSHok (avatár) of the Speetuk (Geylukspa) monastery, and asked him if Lámás of his sect ever dressed so. He replied that neither in Ladák or Lhása did they ever wear a yellow coat, but that he believed the Mongólian

Geylukspas (he referred I presume to the followers of the Táránáth Láma) did so. T. 792

Geylukspas are often spoken of as "serpogon" or "wearers of yellow clothes," so I imagine that, whatever may now be the custom, they originally dressed entirely in yellow. The Dalai Láma and the Tashi Lunpo avatar, both belong to the yellow sect, which in Lhasa is the more powerful, while in Ladák and Bhotan, the red sect is the more powerful. 795 779 WT 792

The following account of Lámáism has been obtained by me, in part from the skooSHok of Speetuk, who is the head of the Ladak Geylulspa, or yellow cap sect, and in part from Hlóbon Topgeys, who was for long, the hlóbon or abbot, of Heymis, the chief monastery of the dukpa, or red cap sect. It very possibly may not be correct from a scholarly point of view, but it represents the local ideas on the subject. 795 779 [115]

In the early days of Buddhism in Tibet, there was only one sect known as "kádampa" or "dulvápa."

The word "dulva" means "to subdue or discipline," and the "dulva" is one of the divisions of the "kagioor" (or translation from Sanscrit to Tibetan, of the mandates of Buddha). It contains two hundred and fifty orders relative to the disciplining of the mind and body.

The word "kadampa" means "bound by the orders," that is to say, by the orders contained in the "dulva."

In those days the Lámás never ate meat or drank intoxicating liquors, nor did they wear any covering to their heads or feet, and celibacy was the invariable rule among them. Their clothing was red. Gradually there was a falling away from this high standard, and in due course there arose a sect known as "rnikmápa" or "hnikmápa" or "snikmapa," so called from their being followers of the "rningpa" or "hningpa" or "ancient" or "old fashioned" religion. This sect permitted the use of wines and meats and did not enforce clerical celibacy.

After this, a great Láma, named Padma, Jungnes, a native of Urgian (Ujain ?), came to Lhása (according to Cunningham, this was about the middle of the eighth century) and founded a new sect, known as the "Urgiánpa," which differed but little from the "Hnikmápa" sect.

Later still a "skooSHok," or incarnation, named "Phakspa Jamspal" founded another sect called "Saskiapa," from "saskiá" the name of the monastery to which Phakspa Jamspal belonged.

T This sect too resembled the "hnikmápa" sect.

792 Later again, a Láma, named "Paldan Drukpa," or Spaldan Drukpa"
795 of Lhása founded another sect, known as the "drukpa or dukpa"
779 or "kárgiootpa" sect. The word "ka" means "order" and "rgioot"
WT is the name of that division of the "kárgioor" which deals with
"Religious Mystical doctrines," called in Tibetan "Sanghngaks"
●792 hence the "kárgiootpa" sect, is the sect believing in the "rgioot"
or book of Mystical doctrines, called in Sanscrit "tantra."

795 This sect, which is now the most powerful of all the red sects, is very
779 similar in the matter of its somewhat lax morality, to the
hnikmápa sect. Its Lámás eat meat, and drink intoxicating
T liquors, and though they may not marry, so long as they remain
[588] in the [81] priesthood, their lives are not invariably virtuous,
WT and, provided a show of secrecy is maintained, they may live
[588] with a nun or any other woman. The nuns indeed (of the red
sect) are commonly supposed to be little else than the servants
and concubines of the Lámás.

Soon after the founding of the Dukpa sect, three other sects arose. The first was the Skarmápa, or Karmápa, so called because its members were believers in the "efficacy of works" (in Sanscrit the word "Karma" means "deed.") Mr. Jáschke says the Karmápa was a philosophical school of Buddhism.

Then arose, simultaneously it is believed, the "Dreegongpa" or "Breegongpa" sect, and the Staklungpa sect. These sects were founded by disciples of the great "Paldan Drukpa" and derived their names from the monasteries of Dreegong and Staklung, to which the Lámas who founded them belonged.

About this time a Láma named Bárawar, a resident of "Hlo" (i.e. Bhutan), introduced among Lámás, the custom of wearing hats and shoes.

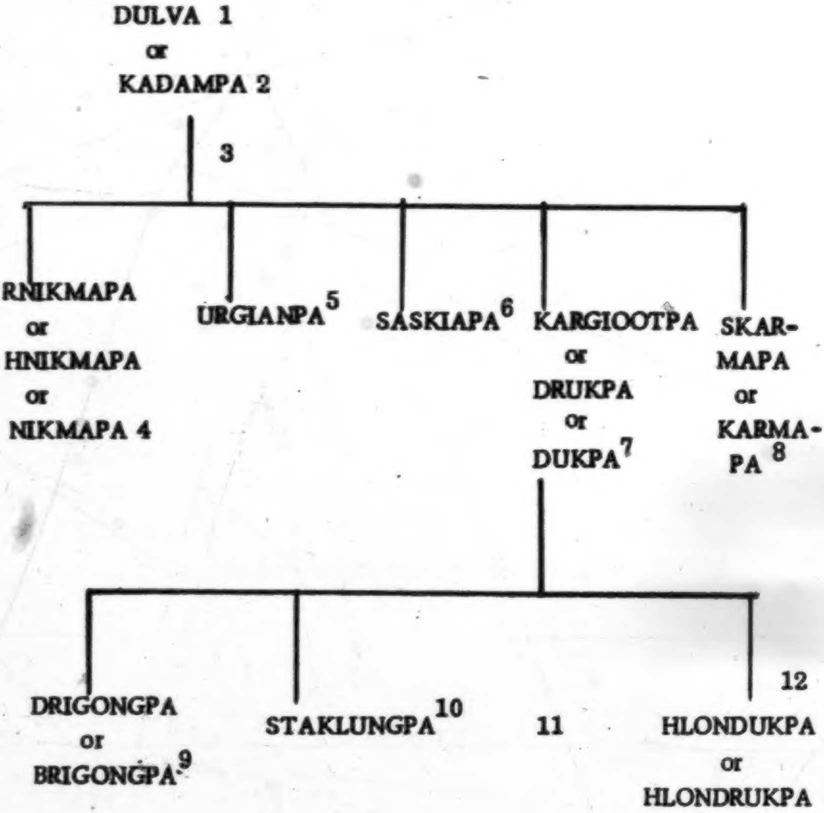
The next landmark is to be found in the person of Láma Tsongkhápa, the great reformer, who was born about 1357 and died in 1419.

He viewed with disapproval the lax morality of the Lámás, which, he said, was not at all in conformity with the precepts of Buddha, and he founded a sect, whose conduct was to be in accordance with the original system of Lámáism. He prohibited the use of meat and wine among Lámás, he enforced clerical celibacy, he directed that the "Rgioot" or "Gioot," (that division of the "Kágioor" which deals with "Magic" or "Mystic Doctrines") should not be read, and he instituted the custom, which is still observed, of holding periodical conferences of

Lámás at Lhása. These reforms were not approved of by all, T
and the Buddhist church then divided into two great sects. 792
The sect founded by Láma Tsongkhápa, was called "Geylukspa," 795
and all other sects were treated as one, and termed "Drukpa." 779
As a distinguishing mark, the Lámás of the "Geylukspa" sect WT
adopted a yellow cap and yellow holy water bag as has already 792
been explained.

Since the days of Láma Tsongkhápa, the "Geylukspa" sect has remained unchanged and undivided, but one new sect of Drukpas has been founded, by a Láma named Ngakwang Namgial of Bhotan. This sect is called "Hlondrukpa" the word "Hlo" being the Tibetan for Bhutan. The above information may be thus conveniently tabulated. 795 779

[82]


DULVA 1
or
KADAMPA 2
3
RNIKMAPA
or
HNIKMAPA
or
NIKMAPA 4
URGIANPA 5
SASKIAPA 6
KARGIOOTPA
or
DRUKPA
or
DUKPA 7
SKAR-
MAPA
or
KARMA-
PA 8
DRIGONGPA
or
BRIGONGPA 9
STAKLUNGPA 10
11
12
HLONDUKPA
or
HLONDRUKPA

2: Ramsay--52 G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Tibet AJ1

T 1. Meaning, persons accepting for guidance the 250 rules of "Dis-
779 cipline," contained in the "dulva," which is one of the
792 "kargioor" or translation from Sanskrit into Tibetan, of the
795 precepts of Buddha.

2. From "ka" meaning "order" and "rdamoa" meaning "to bind."
WT That is to say those bound to observe the orders; meaning the
●792 orders contained in the "dulva."

779 3. The above is believed to have been the name of the original
795 sect of Tibetan Buddhists, who established themselves in Lhása,
about the year 200 B.C. The Lámás or priests, wore red clothing, but left the head and feet bare. They drank no intoxicating liquors, eat no meat, refrained from matrimony, and considered absolute celibacy, a necessity for their priesthood.

4. The date of the institution of this sect is unknown. The name should be "Hningmápa" or "Rningmápa" or even "Hningpa," which means "old." The name refers to the fact that this sect mixed up the observances of the religion of Buddha, with those of the epicurean atheism which existed in Tibet prior to the introduction of Buddhism. The Lámás of this sect eat meat, drank wine, occasionally married, and were generally of lax morals. They wore red clothing like the "dulvas," but they wore caps, called "panjoo," of a red or black colour, and also wore shoes.

5. This sect, which much resembled the Rnikmapa sect, was founded about 750 A.D. by a Lámá of Urgian (Ujain ?) named Padma Jungnes.

6. The date of the foundation of this sect is unknown. It was very similar to the Rnikmápa sect. It derived its name from the Saskia monastery to which its founder Phakspa Jamspal belonged.

7. This sect, which was founded by Páldan (or Spålden) Dukpa (or Drukpa) accepts for its guidance the "ka" or "orders" contained in the "rgioot," which is the division of the kárgioor, which deals with "Religious Magic" or "Mystical doctrines." This sect is now, especially in Ladak, the most powerful of all the red-cap sects. It gave up the black cap, but has retained the red cap, called "panjoo."

8. This sect wear the black cap and never the red one. Its followers are believers in the efficacy of good works, and derive their name from the Sanskrit word "karma" which means "deed."

Tibet AJ1

T 792 795 779

9. A Drukpa Láma of the Drigong or Brigong monastery introduced some small modifications into the old drukpa procedure and founded this sect.

10. A Drukpa Láma of the "Staklung" monastery, founded this sect which is almost the same as the old Drukpa sect.

WT 792 795 779

11. At this period, namely between the introduction of the Staklungpa and Hlondukpa sects, the reforming Láma Tsongkhapa (who was born about 1357 and died about 1419 A.D.) raised his voice against the degenerate Drukpa priesthood, and founded the now famous "Geylukspa" or "virtuous" sect, also known as "Sárpogon" or "yellow clothes" owing to its Lamas having adopted, as a distinguishing mark, a yellow cap, and yellow bag for the bottle for the incantation water. Up to the present time the "Geylukspa" sect has remained undivided. Its Lamas eat no meat, drink no wine and celibacy is strictly observed by them. The Dalai Láma of Lhása belongs to this sect.

12. This sect was founded in the 15th century by a Drukpa Láma of Bhotan, named "Ngakwang. The Tibetan name for Bhotán is "Hlo" or "Hloyool" hence the name of the sect which is much the same as the old Drukpa sect.

[83]Most of the different sects of Lamas are represented in Ladák, having monasteries at the following places:--

I.--Geylukspa sect. At Speetuk (or Peetuk), Tiksay, Likir, Stok, Sáboo, Sangkar, Leh, Reyzong, Saspul, Deskit and Samthanling. The head-quarter monastery to which all important questions are referred is at Tashi Lunpo near Lhása.

II.-- Rnikmápa sect. At Taktak. Headquarter monastery is at Dorjeytrak near Lhása.

III.--Urgiánpa None. Headquarter monastery is at Sangling near Lhása.

IV.--Saskiápa. At Mátho (or Másho). Headquarter monastery at Ngor near Lhása.

V.--Kárgiootpa. At Hemis (or Heymis), Chimray, Ngióma, Hanley, Kárzok, Gya, Meeroo, Bazgo, Teya, Tingmoghang, Alchee, Yarma and Shama. Head-quarter monastery is at Deychhenchhongghor near Lhása.

VI.--Skarmápa. None. Head-quarter monastery is at Tshurboo near Lhása.

VII.--Drigonpa. At Lámáyooroo, Phiáng (i.e., Ghángngong), Shang, and Tángtsey (Sháchhookhul). Head-quarter monastery is at Yángdreeghar near Lhása, and is presided over by the

WT Jiksten-gonpo.
779 VIII.--Staglungpa. None. Head-quarter monastery is at Namgiál-
792 tratshang near Lhása.
795 IX.--Hlondukpa. At Stagna (or Staghna). Head-quarter monastery
T is at Spungthangdeychhen near Lhása.

792 From this it is clear that the Lámas of Ladák are, to a man, sub-
795 ordinate to the Lhása Lámas. It is estimated that about one-
779 sixth of the entire population of Ladák consists of monks (Láma)
WT and nuns (Chómo), who practically speaking, live upon the rest
162 of the community. The monasteries hold extensive lands, for
792 which they do not pay anything like so heavy a rent as ordinary
423 villagers have to pay; and not only are they free from the very
651 burdensome duty of supplying "beygar" or "unpaid labour," which
241 is thereby increased for the rest of the population, but they also
get their lands, to a very great extent, cultivated for them by the
villagers.

WT There are altogether, including hamlets, some 98 villages in Ladak,
361 and of these the 61 largest villages were surveyed in 1885 by
621 Pandit Radha Kishen, Rai Bahadur, the then Wazir of Ladak who
241 found that the whole cultivated area of these villages amounted
651 to 17,641 acres, which paid a revenue of Rs. 36,326, the apportionment being as follows:--

(a) 14,140 acres held by villagers at
Rs. 2·4 per acre.
(b) 1,321 acres held by State Officials at
Rs. 1·4 per acre.
(c) 2,210 acres held by Lámas
Rs. 43 per acre.

This shows clearly that Lamas pay for their land at about one-sixth
WT the rate which an ordinary cultivator would have to pay.

661 As a matter of fact, this state of affairs is the result of judicious
792 bribery oft repeated, for whenever officials have been deputed to
241 make inquiries, etc. about the land tax, they have always been
651 bribed by the Lámás, not to look too closely into monastery af-
423 fairs. The Lámás have thus retained possession of a great deal
of land, regarding the existence of which nothing was known to
the head-quarter officials, and for which they have never paid
WT any revenue whatsoever.

792 The monks of the monasteries, of both the yellow and red sects, are
795 divided into two main classes, viz., those who attend to
spiritual affairs and those who attend to worldly affairs.

The former class is termed "geydun" or vulgarly, "gendun" or "priesthood," and the latter "las-chetpa" or, "workers." The "workers" are nevertheless members of the priesthood. 792 795

The "gendun" class includes--

(1) The skooshok or sprulspoo or incarnation (if there is one) presiding over the monastery.

(2) The hlóbon or abbot. Properly speaking the hlóbon is an abbot of the red sect and the khampo is an abbot of the yellow sect, but in Ladak the word hlóbon applies to abbots of either sect.

(3) oomdzat. He who leads the prayers and generally conducts religious services.

(4) oochhung. The assistant of the oomdzat.

(5) chhosthrimspa. He who sees to the discipline of the monastery.

(6) chhosSHumpa. He who offers up sacrifices, and sees that the [84] prayer books, prayer wheels, etc., are all in order.

(7) zhaltháwa. The Instructor.

(8) máchen. The cook.

The "las-chetpa" class includes--

(1) chhakdzot (chhagzot). The Steward of the monastery, who arranges for the cultivation of monastery lands, collection and payment of revenue, the lending on interest, of grain, to villagers, the repairs of the monastery, and in fact every thing not connected with religion.

(2) ngierpa. The chhakdzot's assistant.

(3) nangngier. The man who gives out grain or other stores required for consumption at head-quarters.

(4) cheengier or pheengier. The man who issues stores required to be sent away from the monastery.

All Lamas must keep their heads shaved, but the shaving of the hair on the face is optional with them. In all monasteries there is a room called "chhosdra," or vulgarly "chhóra," set apart for use as a school room, where all boys and girls, who are about to become monks and nuns, are educated. The Hlóbon and Oochhung are the officers responsible for the performance of the teaching, but other Lámás may also be required to assist them, or to carry on the teaching duties during their absence. It is generally believed, that credit is due to the Lámás, for educating the villagers, but as a matter of fact, no such credit is due to them, as they do nothing in the way of educating any person not intended to become a monk or nun. 792 874

792 person not intended to become a monk or nun.

874 Recruits for the priesthood (geydun) are obtained from the laity (skiao);
they may be of any age and of any caste. Among Lámás caste is not considered.

792 Sometimes the child of well-to-do parents is made a Láma, and
565 sometimes a fully grown man, who is in easy circumstances, becomes
a Lama, but in the large majority of cases, the children
brought up as Lámás, are the children of indigent parents, or
orphans, or the fourth, or younger, sons, who, according to the
Buddhist entail and marriage laws, have no option of sharing their
eldest brother's wife and home, and so are obliged, either to
588 become Lámás, or fight their own way in the world. Among
792 the red cap sect, it is not uncommon for the Lámás to form illicit
795 connections with the nuns, and any children born are brought up
848 as monks or nuns. It may be notorious that certain monks and
nuns are leading unchaste lives, and so long as nothing occurs to compel the monastery authorities to notice the fact, they shut their eyes to what is going on, but if a scandal arises, or if a nun gives birth to a child, the offending monk and nun are called to account and punished, not by expulsion from their order, but by being compelled to leave the monastery building, and go and look after monastery lands at some out-lying village. As a matter of fact, even this slight punishment is not always inflicted, and nuns, the mother of several illegitimate children may be found living at a monastery.

688 Among the yellow caps, the morality and discipline is much stricter,
792 scandals are very rare, and any nun found to be "enceinte" is
795 instantly, along with her paramour, dismissed from the monastery.

792 When a layman (skiáo), whether child or man, comes to a monastery with a view to entering the priesthood, the following is the procedure observed.

The "Skiáo" is taken into the presence of the "Hlóbon" or abbot, who first cuts a small lock of hair from the crown of the Skiao's head, and hangs it up in the monastery as "sra-put" or "hair initiatory present." Any "first fruit" offering is termed "put."

The next thing is to shave the "Skiáo's" head, pig-tail included, after which the "Skiáo" must give one zho (equal to 24 jows, or about Rs. 4-12-0) to the Hlóbon. Having done this, he becomes a "Tsunchhung" or "Geytshul" or "neophyte," and is given a "chhosming" or religious name, and sometimes the ceremony of christening (called "throos tang ches), by sprinkling with holy

792 water, is performed.

The Hlóbon then takes a cotton scarf called "sungdrut," ties a knot in it, spits upon it, and ties it round the "Tsunchhung's" neck, muttering certain incantations while so doing. The "Tsunchhang" or "Geytshul" is then [85] made over to a Lama of the monastery, (selected either by himself, his friends, or the Hlóbon), who is termed his "Geyrgan" or "priestly teacher," and who becomes responsible for the education of his charge. The neophyte has then to learn by heart certain religious books, after which the Lámás assemble and examine him. If the result is satisfactory, he becomes a "Geylong" or full monk. If his circumstances permit of it, he is supposed to give a feast, (generally called "Mangja" and meaning "mangpo chha" or "much tea") to the Lamas consisting, in the case of red-caps, of tea (mangja) soup (paktsha) and glookchhang (examination beer), and in the case of yellow caps of tea only: at the same time he receives a "khatak" or "scarf of salutation" from the Hlobon, the Chhakdzot, his "Geyrgan" and from each of the "Geylongs" of his monastery, who congratulate him upon his admission into the priesthood.

After this, the monk has only three things to learn viz., (1) "kar" (Sanskrit word) or "rtseyches" (Tibetan word) i.e., the religious mumming dance (2) "thik" i.e., the steps, used when walking round in the intervals between the dances (3) yángs i.e., the way to intone the prayers.

[671] If a Láma, of whatever rank, wishes to leave the priesthood and return to secular life, he is at liberty to do so. According to civil law, he has the right to leave the priesthood whenever he pleases, but according to religious law, he cannot leave unless he has received permission from the monastery authorities, so to do. According to custom, he notifies to the Abbot his desire to go, and the Abbot then calls the Lámás together, explains the matter, and obtains from the meeting, permission for the monk to renounce his priestly calling.

A monk who has so left the priesthood is called "banlok."

792 795 688 Among the Geylukspa or yellow sect, if a monk commits a trivial offence, he is admonished for the first few times, and if this has no effect, he is turned out of the priesthood. If the offence committed is a grave one, the sinner is warned once, and on a repetition of the offence, he is scourged and expelled from the priesthood, or if the offence be a very heinous one, he is at

WT
792 once scourged and dismissed. No yellow Láma who has been
795 scourged can remain a Láma.
688 Among the Drukpa or red sect, Lámas may be flogged without being
at the same time unfrocked; they also have minor punishments,
such as being obliged to cut and carry thorn bushes, or to perform other tasks of a similar nature.

WT
311 LAND--sa (as opposed to water, or generally) zhing (cultivated land).
táGHok (land temporarily cultivated), zhing-GHok or zhing
stong (ownerless or waste land).

WT
423 LANDMARK--zhing-i theyór (or tho), as between lands of different
241 persons. Tshiks, the strip of land left uncultivated along the
edges of every field.

WT
788 LAPCHAK--lópchhak. This word means really "yearly salám" and
648 it is used to signify the Mission, (a relic of the old days) which
T is sent from Leh to Lhása every third year. The old Ladák Rajas
788 considered themselves subordinate to Lhása, certainly from a
648 spiritual, and possibly from a temporal, point of view, and they
therefore used to depute a party to Lhása, for the purpose of conveying their respectful salutations [86] to the Grand Láma, other-
WT wise known as the Dalái Láma, or the Giálwa Rinpochey, or the
565] Deba (Deva) Jung (Zhung). The party is always under the leadership of a man belonging to one of the noblest Ladák families;
it leaves Leh about 20th September, and after halting for 3
weeks or a month at the famous Tashi Lunpo monastery, reaches
WT Lhasa about the end of January. The party remains at Lhása for
648 8 months and reaches Leh about December. The post of Lapchak
554 leader is much sought after, for not only is it a very honorable one,
661 but it carries with it certain commercial advantages of a very
T lucrative description. The Lapchak leader is allowed free
648 carriage to and from Lhása, (a distance of about 90 day's
661 journey), for 346 horse-loads of goods. It may be imagined
what a terrible tax this is, on the poor Tartars who have to pro-
WT vide this free carriage, for the benefit of the Lhása and Ladák
648 Governments. The Lapchak leader takes Baltistan dried apricots,
439 coral, silk, saffron and sugar, and brings back China tea, in-
554 cense, and certain Chinese medicinal herbs, and realizes large
profits on his sales both at Leh and Lhása. Before leaving Ladák,

think the Ladákis show much inclination to join the Moravian 797
congregation. A Roman Catholic Mission has more recently
been established here, and may possibly prove more successful,
as a proselytizing agency, for apparently, there exists an extra-
ordinary similarity between the mystical ceremonial of the
Lamaistic ritual, and that of the Romish Church. Religious
considerations apart, the Ladákis would do well to adhere to the 595
faith of their forefathers, for Christian Missionaries will never 779
agree that Christianity and polyandry can exist together, they 114
will therefore induce their disciples to drop the practice,
though on the day that polyandry ceases to be general, the sun
of the country's prosperity will set for ever. Polyandry and
Lamaism most effectively check the increase of population,
and the consequence is that every one is fairly well off, the
people are happy and crime is rare. With a non-Buddhist [674]
population, all this would be changed, the country would be
rapidly overpopulated, and the people steeped in poverty,
misery and crime. The three acres, a cow and a wife princi-
ple may be well enough in countries having a landed gentry
to be despoiled, or vacant lands to be taken up, but for Ladák, [311]
where there is no land to be got, and no country suitable for [167]
the emigration of a surplus population, it would amount to an
economic error, to encourage the introduction of any innova-
tion, having an undeniable tendency towards the ultimate
abolition of the practice of polyandry.

[105]

MOLE--SHmeya or rmeya. Ladákis think that a mole on a woman's face is a beauty. 826

MONK--Láma (general,) geylong (a full monk), geytshul or tsunchhung or chhungjung (a neophyte), but see under heading "Láma." 792

MOP--sumba. In Ladák a mop is made by fastening on to the end of a stick, a piece of sheep skin, with the wool left on it.

195
MORNING--hngamo (general), ngeema tsikSHar (sun, rise) 805
ngeema-tsalm breakfast time about(10 o'clock). ngeema
ngeenggung (mid-day). For "good morning," the word "joo"
is ordinarily used; but if a layman addresses a Láma, or when
one Láma wishes another "good morning," the word "chhak-
tshal" is used.

re-born in this wicked world. But see also "Heaven." 000

[109]
NORTHERNER--chángpa. The nomad Tartars inhabiting the country between Ladák and Lhása are called "Chángpa." These are of course not "northerners" from the Ladák point of view, but "westerners." The word "Chángpa" cannot be used with reference to any people other than these Tartars. Other people must be described as "Yárkhandis," or as the case may be.

[110]
NUN--chómo (a full nun); geytshulma (a novice); chólok (one who 792
having been a nun, returns to her former life, probably for the 795
sake of matrimony). Cunningham says a full nun is called
"geylongsma," but this title is not known in Ladák. The ex-
planations given under the head "Láma," showing the mode in
which men become monks, generally apply, mutatis mutandis
to nuns also. The dress of the nun is, in the main, similar to
that of the neophyte; she is recruited in the same manner, and
is permitted to relinquish her profession in the same manner.
The yellow sect nuns shave their heads, but the red sect do not. 795
No nuns actually live in a monastery or convent; they live in
houses just outside the monastery. A nun's room or house is
called "chómo i tráSHak" or "tráSHak," and the word
chómóling is used to signify generally the quarter occupied by
nuns. The yellow sect nuns are of good moral character, but
the red sect nuns are no better than they should be. Nuns have
quarters set apart for them inside the monastery, where they
are supposed to sit and pray together. They do not join with
monks in prayer, and are not even allowed to be present when
the "skurim" or "sacrifice" ceremony is being performed.
There are no ranks, and apparently there is no discipline,
among nuns. Among the "dukpa," or red sect, both neophytes [241]
and monks, and novices and nuns, may, and do, work as
coolies, or in the fields, but among the "geylukspa," or yel-
low sect, neophytes and novices may do work, but not monks o
nuns. In addition to the modes of recruiting mentioned under [842]
the heading "Láma," it may be mentioned that if a man who [182]
wants children is childless, he often vows that if his wife is
made fruitful he will give his first born, as a monk or nun, in
token of his gratitude. Nuns never wear the bag (chhapreel),
in which is kept the brass vessel (chhapluk) for holding the holy,
or incantation, water (hngakschhoo).

792 ~~992~~ 195 NUNNERY--chómóling is the name of the village or settlement where all the nuns live. Each nun has her own room or house, which is called a "traSHak," or respectfully "zimSHak." Sometimes two or more nuns live in one house.

576 NUZZUR--chhakkhur. This word corresponds to the Indian word "nazar," while dombung corresponds to "dáli." The custom of the country is that if a man wishes to ask a favour, or borrow money, etc., of another, he must, when making the request, present a "chhakkhur" or "dombung." The former would probably consist of brick-tea and cash, and the latter of ghee, chhang and dried apricots.

787 [112]OMEN--nganltes or nganltas (general); ltaszang (good); ltasngan (bad). The Tibetans are great believers in signs and omens, and they have at least one book filled with descriptions of the various good and bad omens. The following are good omens:--If on the day of a wedding, a rainbow is seen, or the sky has a reddish colour. If the first person seen on awaking in the morning is a venerable old man, or a person carrying water or milk or beer. If in the morning a magpie chatters near a house it is a sign that a guest or a welcome letter is coming. Among bad omens are the following:--If a kite or snow pheasant comes and settles on the roof of a house. If a raven croaks above a house. If a jackal or dog or fox howls at night. If an owl hoots, or a horse neighs at night. If a house takes fire. If the droppings of a bird fall on any one's head. To dream a bad dream. If an ass runs in front of, or brays near, a bride and bridegroom on their way home. If the beer for a marriage feast turns sour. If a person drops a cup and it falls upside down. If the measure of grain with the arrow in it (see marriage) is upset, it is a sign that the young couple will not lead a happy life together, etc., etc.

791 [113]ORACLE--mopa or rtseespa or onpo (a soothsayer, who works by book and rule); ngonkhien (a clairvoyant.)

564 681 [114]OUTCAST, TO--pheeng (or ton) ches (general); khioo ney ton ches (to put a person out of caste for any offence, etc.)

OUTCAST--khioo ney tonkhan (or pheeskhan) (as one who has been put out of caste for offending against the rules of his caste; tonkhan (as one who is a leper or notorious rascal).

tonkhan (as one who is a leper or notorious rascal). 000

[115]PAGAN--The Ladákis have no such a word in their vocabulary. Buddhists are called "Nángpa" or "insiders", while those of other religions are called Hindoos, or, as the case may be. Mahomedans are called "Pheepa" or "outsiders", and atheists are called "Armendirnen". 778

[116]PARENT--ába (eldest father); ágoo (other fathers); ámá (mother). 601

[117]PATRON--giápsten (friend); eedam or yeedam (patron saint or tutelar divinity)--nearly every Ladáki has a "yeedam" of his or her own selection. 776 572

[118]PAWN-BROKER--bundak or norrdak (money-lender); tshongpa (merchant). The money-lenders and merchants are the pawnbrokers of Ladák. 426 443

PELISSE--hlóGHor or hióGHor. Ladáki ladies, when in full dress, nearly always wear a pelisse or cloak of scarlet and green cloth, lined with white lambskin. A rich person ornaments the cloak with heavy silver ornaments at throat, neck, and shoulders. Hlokpa is the goatskin cloak worn by the labouring classes, both men and women, to protect the back. But see "Cloak." 291 565 301

[119]PERAMBULATE TO--skora skor ches. The Ladakis, in so far as they are addicted to religious observances, which is not a great deal, attach considerable importance to circum-ambulation, combined with prostrations, as a means of obtaining a forgiveness of their sins. 788

PERQUISITE--thoptáng signifies legal perquisite, such as the grain given by [120] villagers at harvest time to the village blacksmiths or other village servants. The respectful word is "chhak rsten" or "zhoo rsten" signifying "offering" or "petition present"; phaksup signifies an "illegal perquisite," i.e., bribe. 675 195 662

[120]
PETTICOAT--SHamthap, the red petticoat worn by Lámas of both 792 291

792 791 red and yellow sects. The women of Ladák do not wear petticoats. Their dress consists of patoo trousers and a patoo garment in which bodice and skirt or petticoat are joined together. The skirt part of this garment is called "hmadGHak" or hmad-yok", and the bodice part "stotGHak."

776 PHANTOM--hlandey or hlandrey--the name of a class of spirits, supposed to appear in various forms, and then to suddenly vanish out of sight; zumthhrul or zumthhul or chhumthhrul or chhumthhul, as a mirage; namSHet or namSHes, the ghost of a dead person; SHeelok, one returned from the dead. But see "Resurrection."

751 777 PHYLACTERY--srunga or SHunga. The Buddhists of Ladák obtain from their Lámás, extracts, or texts, from their sacred books, printed on paper or longcloth, etc., these they enclose in a silver or copper casket (kabzóma) worn like a locket. The poorest people wrap them up in paper and tie them to a string worn round the neck or waist. [1[illegible]1] The men sometimes fasten them to their caps, and the women to their headdresses (peyrak). A Buddhist never wears a charm on his arm or wrist as a Hindoo or Mahomedan might do.

[121]

788 PILGRIMAGE--hnasjal or jala. Ladakis go on pilgrimages to Trilóknath, the Manasarwar lake, Jowála Mukhi and other places of Hindoo pilgrimage.

276 PIPE--kanzak, or respectfully zhalzak, a tobacco pipe with a straight stem, about 10 inches long, and with small round bowl. They are made of brass or iron, and sometimes silver plated. This is the pipe of the traveller and of the villagers. Towns-people use the Indian pipe which they call "cheelam" or "gurguri cheelam." The Baltistán pipe, which is also used by Ladakis, is called "roocho-cheelam," or respectfully "doncheelam" "poori" a pipe for conducting water, etc.; "oldong" the wind-pipe.

595 753 [123]POLYANDRY--There is no word for this. Polyandry is almost universal among the Buddhists of Ladak. For further information, see under the heading "Marriage." It is said that polyandry induces leprosy, but in Ladak the disease is unknown, though

receive "tamchhoo" (meaning "binding water") from the hands of the priest, and this they reverently drink. 788

SACRIFICE TO--skoorim cho ches (to perform the sacrificial rites); chhotpa phul ches (to offer up a sacrifice). The taking of life is contrary to the Buddhist religion, live animals are therefore not slaughtered in the ordinary sacrificial manner. If a Buddhist wishes to offer an animal as a sacrifice, he dedicates it to the gods and leaves it at the monastery. This is termed "tshey thar la táng ches;" all such animals are kept on the monastery lands, doing nothing for the rest of their lives. Another kind of sacrificial offering consists of satoo, dyed blood-red (by means of the juice extracted from the root of a medicinal herb known as "dreemok") and kneaded, and made into a particular shape and crowned with a cone of butter. It is then termed a "chhotpa." 782 779 792 ●

SAIL--The "sails" of the Chángtháng windmills are of wood, scooped out like a ladle, "(they are called hlungsskor-i-SHokpa"). 000

SALUTE TO--joo (or zhoo) zăr ches, or respectfully chhak phul ches. When equals meet, each says "joo" or "joojoo"; if one is of slightly lower rank, he says "joo ley" and receives the answers "joo." "Salami" is the term for a military salute, and also for a guard of honour. Hniemdòng táng (or pheeng) ches is to come out to salute, as the Lámás and women and musicians of a village come out to salute any person of rank passing [141] through their village. The Lámás come with their sacred musical instruments, the women with offerings of milk, satoo, ghee, chhang, and incense, and the musicians with drums and clarionets. 554 195 576 792 533

[141]

SASH--palthar (a kind of sash-like belt for holding a sword); palthar táng ches (to wear such a sash); skieyr (kasa kind of waist-band worn by both sexes). The women, in addition to the skieyraks, wear a kind of sash, called a "yok-skieyraks," and from this hangs a collection of ornaments, termed "ldócha," consisting of cowries, needles, pins, a knife, spoon, purse, etc., etc. The brass rosette-like ornament worn on the "yok-skieyraks" is called a "ldólen." 291 301

262 SAUSAGE--tshilkham or náng. A Tibetan sausage is made of mutton or goats' flesh and highly flavoured.

331 SCAFFOLDING-- Wood is too valuable in Ladák to admit of ordinary scaffolding being used during the building of a house, etc., and the builders seem to get on very well, though using only rough ladders (SHaska) and high trestles (SHingtee).

871
777 [142]SCHOOL--hloptá-kháng. With the exception of the Moravian Mission School at Leh, there is no regular school of any kind in Ladák.

● 792
794
788 [144]SERMON--The Buddhist priests do not preach sermons, they confine themselves to reading the scriptures. To read the scriptures aloud to a congregation is called "máney skul ches," and the reader, who need not necessarily be a Lámà, is called "Mâneypa." The reader intones, and as he comes to the end of each sentence, he pauses, and the congregation slowly chants the mystic syllables "aum ma nee pat mey hung," pronounced om máni-padme hum. The congregation cannot understand the language of the scriptures, and does not care to do so, as Ladákis consider that it is the duty of the priests to look after such matters for them.

291
195 SHAWL--tsádir or tsazar or respectfully namtsar (a shawl); staktra (the small square shawl worn by Ladák women, either as an apron or hanging under one [145] arm; it is generally made of a check pattern, either in wool or cotton).

231 SHEEP--luk (general); roobo (entire); luk (castrated); lugmō or móluk (ewe); lugoo (lamb); phólaks or thongpa (a fine fat castrated sheep ready for killing); chángluk (the large load-carrying sheep of Chángthńg).

439
435 [146]SILVER INGOT--These come only from China. Some are imported to Léh viá Lhása, but most of them come via Yárkhand. The Tibetan word for an ingot is rdótsat or starmikma, but the Turki words "koorus" or "koors" and "yámboo" are also used. The ordinary koors is worth from ₨ 165 to ₨ 170. There are also smaller ingots, called "yámikma" (value ₨32) and "lugmikma" (value ₨16).

Ladáki men sit cross-legged, but for women it is considered an improper position, so they kneel on one knee and sit on that heel, keeping the other knee erect, or they sit on the calf of the upright leg and tuck the other leg under them; to sit thus is also termed tsong tsong la duk ches. Central Asians consider the Indian attitude indecorous. 516

[152]

STEP-CHILD--máyar poorok. 601

STEP-DAUGHTER--máyarpoorok-i-bómo.

STEP-FATHER--pháyar. Tibetans think that if one father dies, it is good for the children to have a step-father.

STEP-MOTHER--máyar. Step-mothers are looked on with much disfavour.

STEP-SON--máyarpoorok-i-pootsa.

STEWARD--chhakdzot or chaGHzot. The officer in charge of stores. In a monastery he is a great man. But see "Lama." 644 792

[153]STORE-HOUSE--pánga (the underground compartments kept for the storage of grain); dzot (general term). 343

STRAW--sokma or sogma (unchopped); and phugma (chaff-straw broken up by being trodden upon by the animals treading the grain out of the ears). 243

[154]SUFFOCATE TO--khásup táng ches or boksup (or tshupskor) la tang ches (by preventing respiration). Buddhists are not allowed to take life, so when the Tartars of Chángtháng want meat, they tie up an animal's mouth, thus causing it to die of suffocation; or they cause it to fall over a precipice and be killed. The Tartars then eat the flesh with easy consciences. 779 253

[155]SURNAME--Tibetans have no surnames. 551

[156]TABLE--choktsey (general term for the stool-like tables used by Ladákis); ltapchok (about 6 inches high); hlángchok 352

TEA-SPOON--thurmang chhungan (the ordinary spoon); chháthum, 415
or respectfully solthum (the large brass spoon with which tea is 195
ladled into the cups).

TEMPLE--Ladákis have no temples, and are not addicted to congre- 346
gational worship. Almost every man has in his own house, if
he is a rich man, a "Hlakchhung" or "idol room," where a 778
Lama always is on duty to attend to the lights, repeat prayers, 565
etc., and if he is a poor man a "Chhotkhang" or idol room. 792
The apartment in a monastery where the sacred books are kept 792
is called the "Chhoskhang." The room in a monastery where 779
congregational worship takes place is called "Dookhang" or 794
Rdookhang.

[160]TOBACCO--tamak. Ladákis smoke the pure leaf of the tobacco 276
plant, grown in Baltistan. They dislike the abomination of the 439
Indian bázár.

TOOTH-ACHE--so-i-zuk. Tibetans think that tooth-ache and the 763
decay of teeth is caused by the presence of a small worm,
which they call "So-i-boo."

[161]TRANSMIGRATION--khorwa or skorwa, the theory of 775
"metempsychosis" (which see) or the six classes of beings in
which re-birth of the soul may take place.

TRAP--peeltem (any kind of contrivance, other than a snare or 224
noose, for catching animals); peerdung (with falling trap door,
like a rat-trap).

TRINITY--konjok sum. The Buddhist Trinity consists of (1) sangeys 779
konjok (Buddha); (2) chhos konjok (the Buddhist scripture);
(3) geyndun konjok (the Buddhist priesthood).

[162]
TROUSSEAU--raktak. This is the word used to denote the whole of 583
the property, of whatever kind, which a girl gets from her parents when she marries. The chief object, from the bridegroom's point of view, of having a set wedding is to get hold of this "raktak," for if there is no formal wedding, there is probably no "raktak." Hence the object of celebrating a wedding long after the woman has become the unmarried wife of the man. But see "Marriage."

311 UNCULTIVATED--stong (waste land); tha (land which is only temporarily uncultivated).

556
415 /165/ URN--samáwár. The Russian combination tea-pot and urn. A cylinder for holding charcoal, passes through the centre, and the tea and water are put in and boiled by means of this charcoal. These urns are much used by the well-to-do people of Ladák, especially when on a journey.

426
792 USURER--phar-zákhan. The Indian and Kashmiri traders of Leh do not do much in the way of money-lending. The people seldom borrow anything but grain, and this they usually borrow from the monasteries. The Indian bazar rates of interest prevail in Ladák. For money, one anna per rupee per mensem is the usual charge, and for grain "sowái" is paid, that is to say, for every four parts of grain borrowed, five must be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

562
292 /166/ VEIL TO--yola kap ches (general); rdongyol kap ches (the face). Tibetan ladies do not ordinarily wear veils, except in the case of the ex-Raja's wife, who is supposed, when she appears in public, to wear a veil, called "SHokSHok," which is made of silver wire and studded with pearls and turquoises.

577
779 /167/ VIRTUE--geywa. The ten chief virtues, as defined by the Buddhist scriptures, are the abstaining from (1) killing, (2) stealing, (3) fornication, (4) lying, (5) abuse, (6) idle talking; (7) calumniating, (8) avarice, (9) mischief, (10) heterodoxy.

574
554
195 VISIT TO--jal la chha ches (when the inferior goes to visit the superior); jal la yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an inferior); thuga chha ches or thuk ches (when the visit is between equals); thuga yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an equal).

VISIT--jalches (of an inferior to a superior); thukches (between equals).

VISITOR--jalkhan (of inferior rank); thukkhan (equal in rank to the person visited).

862 /168/ WEAN TO--peebee chat ches. Ladákis don't wean their children till they are two, or even three, years old.

564 WEAVER--thakkhan. There is no "weaver caste" in Ladák.

286
589
601 /169/ WIDOW--mórangmo. But see "Marriage," "Divorce," and "Remarriage."

436 coins and there, as well as in Ladakh, Kashmir, and other neighboring countries there is a lot of forged money in circulation.

787 "Chag t'sal, I pay you my profoundest respects." With these words Lobsang Wanggyal takes his leave of the shrewd soothsayer in a polite but cool way. He would prefer to sever all relations with this man who, his common sense tells him, is making a profitable business of his art of divination, and yet--did he not know more than others? "Trashis shig! Hail to you!" answers the devil-tamer, as though his horoscope was to bring the fulfillment of this beautiful wish.

To Lobsang Wanggyal's ears it sounded like mockery, and pensively he went home. If the onpo writes out many more such prescriptions, my son is going to be a great expense to me. But--at the moment it is only this one, and for the time being it will remain this one only. And then I am not concerned with a few rupees more or less. If only the boy is spared!"

Lobsang Wanggyal's neighbor, the shopkeeper Pagspa Ngurub, does things more inexpensively. He let the onpo alone and simply questioned fate by means of the shoulder blade of a sheep, or by means of the dice; or else he counted off on the beads of his rosary and appeased the evil spirits by a small scattered offering of barley and beer. The neighbor could do as he wished. Lobsang Wanggyal wanted to proceed with certainty and wanted to be armed against all wiles of the evil spirits, whatever the cost.

/23/

What is the Boy to be Called?

553 One month after the birth of his heir Lobsang Wanggyal one morning saddles his horse and sets out on the way to Leh, the capital of Ladakh which lies a three days' journey further up the valley of the Indus. There he has some business matters to take care of; but aside from this he wants to carry out another important errand: he wants the skushog (11) Bakula to give him a suitable name for his little son.

792 11. A skushog (Tibetan also sprul-sku) is the incarnation of a Buddha or of a holy man of previous ages. The Bakula mentioned here is the reincarnation of the great Arhat (master) and apostle of Buddhism of the same name. Skushog Bakula played an important role as abbot of the monastery Spituk

near Leh, and he exercised a very powerful influence in his 792
day.

So much depends upon the proper name. His poor neighbor, to save 553
expense, had chosen the names for his recently born son himself with
the aid of the wise women of his tribe and of a lama who was related
to him. "Sodnam Drandul" he had named his offspring. The first
name (Sodnam, which is "merit") designates its bearer as a pious
Buddhist who places value upon the gaining of virtuous merits; the
second name (Drandul, which is "tamer of enemies") was to overcome by
its magical power all enemies which might oppose themselves to its bearer,
especially the innumerable evil spirits in the air, on earth, and under
the earth. A powerful name works wonders as a protective means.
But Lobsang Wanggyal wanted to proceed with certainty. Such a holy,
wise, and powerful skushog as Bakula could, after all, read quite
differently in the pages of the dark future and would be able to avert
threatening misfortune by a suitable name and by other means. After
three days of traveling the Dragshos arrived at the monastery Spitug 553
/sic./. He was lucky; he was soon admitted into the presence of the 792
mighty one, a man in his middle years, corpulent, with a closely
shaved head and an intelligent facial expression. With legs crossed
under him he was sitting in his abbot's cell on a raised, flat seat covered
with carpets. He was clothed with garments of heavy, yellow Chinese
silk. In the presence of several serving lamas in the red dress of their
order Bakula received the Dragshos. Lobsang Wanggyal handed one of
the lamas a ka-btags (greeting band), a copper plate with dried
apricots, almonds and sugar on it, as well as a rupee in silver, which
the lama placed in front of the skushog. Now Lobsang Wanggyal
bowed deeply three times before the holy man and with both hands
embraced the latter's legs. The holy man thereupon accorded his
blessing to the /24/ suppliant with a negligent movement of the hand.
Then he presented him with a narrow, yellow strip of silk with a knot [789]
in it, a "magical knot" (gzuns-mdud), over which he had first repeated
a powerful formula (gzuns) while breathing upon it. The recipient of
this knot immediately fastened it as a protecting amulet to his cap.

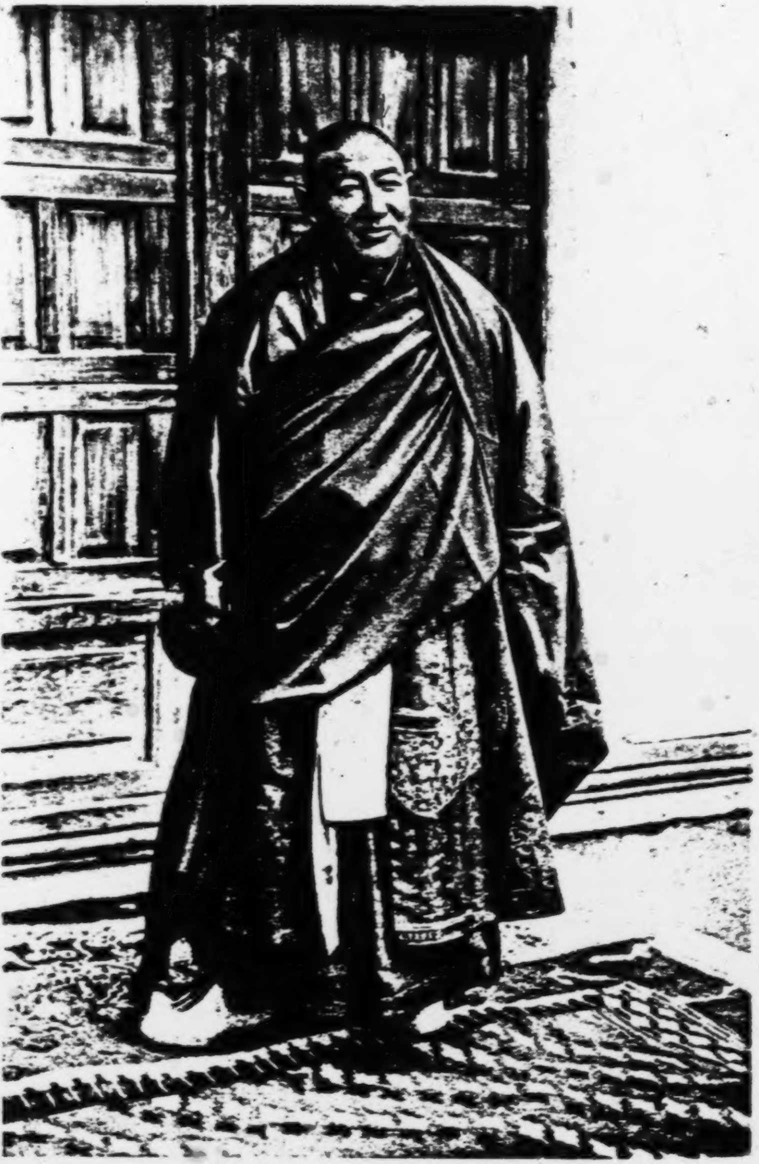
But the Dragshos was not yet satisfied with this. Only now did he come forth with his real request and he added to it, that his little son already had fallen sick once of a bad intestinal disease, something which the angered water gods had probably afflicted him with. He was thinking in this case of his experience while watering his garden

553 on the evening after the birth of his little son. The skushog assumed
•772 a concerned expression and thought the matter over for a while, then he said: "The Lu (water gods) are angered at your little son, and the red Tsan-demons are hostile to him; there is no doubt about that. We must choose a good, powerful protective name. Name your son Drogpa Namgyal (Tibetan aBro-pa rNam-rgyal; Drogpa--"Great Conqueror") (12). The name will keep away all evil spirits."

563
177 12. The Drogpa (abrog-pa) are an Aryan tribe which penetrated into western Tibet from the northwest, Dards from the highlands of Gilgit and Astor. Western Tibet was in earlier times settled only by Tibetan nomads. There in the mountain wildernesses the immigrating Dards planted fields, built villages, cities and fortifications and apparently lived peacefully side by side with the nomadic Tibetans in the land at first. Later these Drogpa were partly driven out and partly subjugated by the Tibetans who had learned agriculture from them as from the Indian Mon; so that today the Drogpa are only to be found in a few villages. Although the Drogpa frequently intermingled with the Tibetans, they are nevertheless despised today by the latter. In the mouth of the Tibetan the word Drogpa is as much as an insulting name. The Mon are even lower in the opinion of the Tibetans. The ancestors of the Mon brought, in the last centuries before Christ, Buddhism together with Indian culture from their homeland in the northwestern India to western Tibet and built monasteries and villages as centers of their missionary and colonizing activity. They, too, were partly driven out and partly suppressed by the Tibetans. Nowadays the Mon are only found still in single families and tribes in the villages of Ladakh, where they are active as carpenters and musicians. As such they are much in demand, but nevertheless they are very much despised just as the smiths (gar-ba), who are also of Indian extraction, as well as the Beda who travel through the country as an itinerant people, musicians and jugglers. All
55i these despised names: Drogpa, Mon, Garba, Beda are often given to a child as a protective name on its way through life; with it is connected the naive conception that the evil spirit will be frightened off because behind the name it will suspect a real "dirty Drogpa" or "dirty smith." (Compare A. H. Francke, *A History of Western Tibet*, London, Partridge & Co., pp. 19 ff.)

/Following page 48/

792



The reincarnated Bakula (Mushog), abbot of the monastery Spituk.

/Following page 64/

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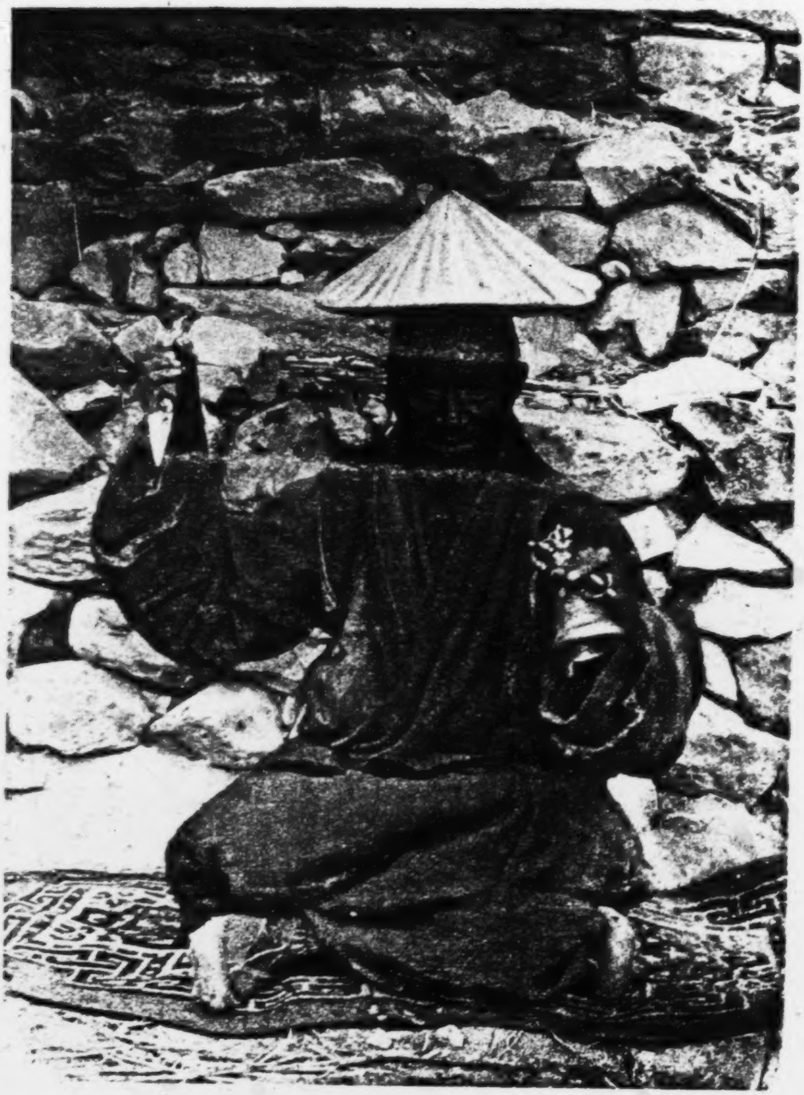

Lama with a magical bell and a magical dagger

/Following page 80/

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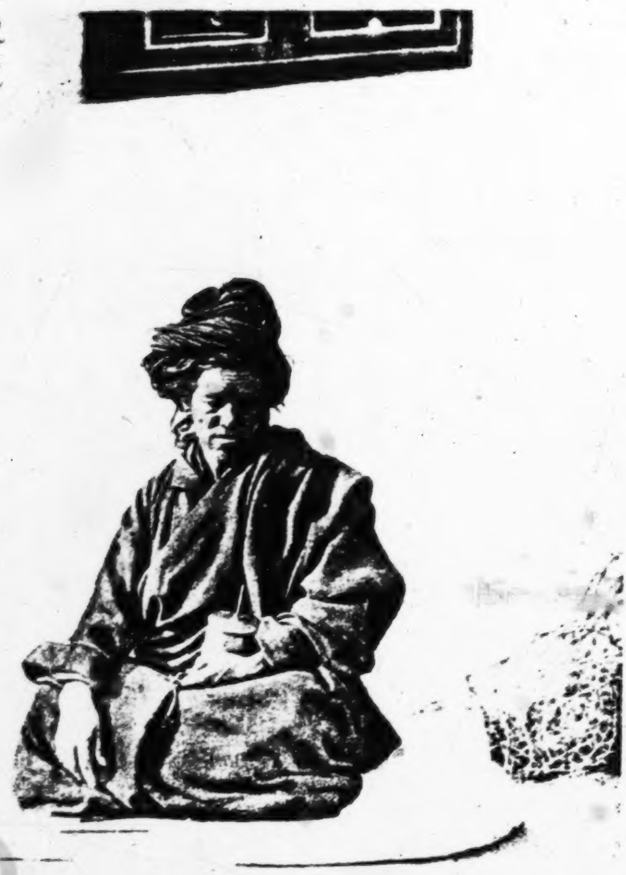

The hermit Tsetan--with a prayer wheel (his hair is wound around his head in long strands)

/Following page 160/

•792
788

The great reading. Lamas read the Buddhistic canon on behalf of of the country.

> for "teaching, preaching." The wheel is here the symbol for the law, as well as of power and of victory. Having been turned, it rolls along victoriously, overcoming all enemies and the darkness of ignorance (Sanskrit, Avidya) /literally: "not-knowing."--translator./

implore thee to take mercy on all the animals and on us for the sake of all the merit that has been amassed! When our merit has become perfect, let us not, we pray thee, remain in this world any longer!"

The older Namgyal became, the more his yearning to penetrate 000 more deeply into the mysteries of religion grew. Two forces were fighting for dominion in his soul, the old warlike spirit which had animated the ancestors on his father's side, and the penchant towards brooding and religious activity which had been lively in the forebears on his mother's side. The latter trait gained the upper hand more and more, and thus Namgyal searched for instruction in the field of religion, wherever he could find it. Frequently he would sit in the hermitage of the recluse in Skyinling, when the latter was just pausing in his meditations and for a brief period of time opened his usually locked hermitage. There he would ask questions that occupied his mind.

One day the abbot of the great Rirdsong monastery, who was 792 considered an incarnation (transubstantiation) of a great saint of former ages, had made a procession through the country with a great retinue of lamas and serving laymen. Wherever this "skushog" came he was received by a respectful crowd of people with music and gifts. Sitting on a brick throne, he received the worshippers who saw in him a divine being, a Skyabsgon (saviour); he would bestow his blessing upon those who knelt before him, with a hasty movement of his hand, and he would give each of them a colored hallowed ribbon (k'a-btags), over which he had previously mumbled a magical formula and on which he had softly spat. The holy man's spittle was believed to possess magical powers. Such ribbons which were in this manner heaped with magical power /168/, were then attached by the men to their caps, and by the women to their left shoulder. The ribbon was supposed to keep away sickness, the malicious influence of spirits, as well as all other evil, and it was credited with bringing luck to its wearers. In exchange for this, the "believers" presented costly gifts to the skushog: before his throne there stood a great number of dishes with rice, wheat flour, barley, and dried apricots; one brought a sheep, another a goat, a sack of hide with butter, and the wealthier ones gave money.

775 explain that the "master" himself gave his questioning disciples only very unwillingly and in dark language the information concerning that which he wanted them to understand by nirvana. And that by life he only wanted them to understand the present form of existence; a conscious life in another existential form was nonetheless thinkable even after the entry into nirvana.

with it also all suffering, consequently therefore also life and existence generally, came to an end. For life is, after all, simply synonymous with suffering in the teaching of the ancient Indic sages and also that of Buddha. There is no life without suffering. But to him whose strength and endurance are insufficient to free himself, the "Great Merciful One" (Tibetan, t'ugs-rje ĉen-po, Sankrit Avalokitesvara) proffers out of his mercy his assistance. Hearing the prayers of the people, he saves the suffering creatures from all tortures of existence, even from all the various hells, and translates them into the Paradise of the West.

792 "A pious and virtuous lama can be of great assistance on this way to liberation," said the hermit. "You call me Root Lama (rtsa-baibla-ma), and you are right in doing so. For just as this apricot tree draws up power and sap by the root, so the layman draws his strength from his Root Lama to whom he has attached himself so that he grows spiritually and bears good fruit, leads a pious life, does good deeds by people and by animals, and so that in this way the door to paradise is opened to him. The ignorant and slothful layman who has not the power to effect his salvation by himself, takes refuge with his Root Lama as well as with the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. The Root Lama is the indispensable agent of salvation for the layman. A saying in one of our sacred books reads: 'Without the mediation of a lama, no one can approach the godhead.' The lama is the teacher of the layman and shows him onto the path of virtue, he imparts the blessing to the /171/ layman, hears his confession, gives him absolution, imposes penalties upon him, and leads the sinner to the redeeming Bodhisattva who in his mercy purifies him of his sins and who leads him towards release through all the temptations and perils of life. The Bodhisattva does all this from pure mercy, that is why he is called the Great Merciful One."

"It is true that this expression is much abused by the lamas. Unworthy ones presume to be mediators and leaders, and let themselves

be called 'saviour' (skyabs-mgon) and Right Reverend (rin-po-ĉe). 792
You know that many lamas lead a vicious life, and that they let the ignorant people pay dearly for their hypcritical prayers and masses, their magical arts and tricks. To such lamas applies the other words: 'If the lama cannot save his own head, how can he draw up the layman (from the morass of sins into paradise)' (155.). "

155. In Tibetan the saying reads: bla-ma rañ-gi mgo ma ton-na / skya-bo yar-dren ci-ltar bya.

Namgyal was a very eager student, and he endeavored to appropriate as much as possible of Buddhistic knowledge. He studied the books which his friend gladly lent him, and let himself be initiated into the mysteries of Buddhistic wisdom by his friend and also by a young lama who had recently completed his studies in Lhasa and had received his ordination there.

The hermit admonished his pupil time and again to study industriously the Chos (the law), and to observe the commandments. The importance of knowledge was to be impressed upon his mind by the following verse (156):

156. In Tibetan: rig-pa rnam-pa ci-yan slob/
t'se adir mk'as-pa ma agyur kyañ/
skye-ba rjes-mai bcol-ma yin/
nor de rañ-nyid len-pa adra.

Learn the branches of knowledge well!
If this life brings not wisdom,
It is reserved for future ones.
It is like to self-earned treasure.

Namgyal prayed much, daily recited prayers that he had learned 788
by heart, and prayed "with hand and mouth," by turning the manual prayer wheel more industriously than others of his age--ordinarily only the old people who are no longer capable of working and who "have the time," are the ones who pray--and in so doing he sent up to the Great Merciful One a million times each day the wonderful six-syllable prayer "Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum!" (Om! Jewel--lotus! Hum!). He did this in the belief that, as he /172/ was taught, each of these magical syllables would unlock the door to one of the six realms, and

788 instituted three classes of ceremonies, corresponding to the means of the different households: At the Rimdro of the first class (rabs) all 108 volumes of the Kangyur, the first part of the canon, are read; this occurs only very rarely and in single instances among the great men of the land. At the Rimdro of the second class (abriṅ), half of that, or even only 12 volumes, may be read; at a reading of the third class (adus, or, mta), only a brief extract is read. Namgyal chose the second class and had about thirty volumes read. The reading of the "divine" word (ĉos) was after all supposed to bring blessing, protection, and prosperity through the power that resided in it.

As the day for the beginning of these exercises, to which were also joined offerings, the 15th of the fourth month was chosen. This day (like the first), is considered as particularly suited to praying, reading, walking around sacred places, and to the bestowing of gifts. On these holy days Namgyal accordingly prayed earnestly, circled around the prayer walls and chorten at the entrance to the village, all the while turning his prayer wheel. He also gave alms on this day to each beggar or mendicant lama who approached him. Wherever possible, Namgyal would participate with enthusiasm in the greater undertakings that brought merit to the performer, such as the whitewashing of the monastery walls, the building of new 'manes' (prayer walls) and chorten. At his instigation the farmers also got together once and built a large prayer wheel by the brook, the cylinder of which was almost two meters high. This prayer wheel was driven by water, and now it "prayed" day and night for the inhabitants of the village and their bodily as well as spiritual well-being.

792 The compensation for the services which the lamas perform for the laymen during the year takes place in the late summer when the grain has been threshed. At that time the lamas arrive in great numbers from the nearest monasteries in order to claim their share in the harvest. The seven wealthiest farmers of Kalatse have been obligated since time immemorial to entertain the lamas one after the other. It happens that one farmer has to be host to 100 to 150 lamas in one day. /Following page 176 there are two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle: "Threshing of the grain"; the second showing the "Monastery Trigtsee in Ladakh" (subtitle). /177/ In addition to the lamas and nuns who demand their reward, the smiths and carpenters also come, who are the descendants of the Aryan inhabitants of these mountains and who were at one time subjugated by the Tibetans (compare note 12). These artisans are now paid off for their labors which 463 465 563

787 still in the country." In answer to the Wasir's question when the stolen goods would be found, there came the answer: "We know it not." After about a month the thief was apprehended. He was a native Indian soldier from the small garrison of the Dogra fort near Leh. The stolen goods were also found in a hideaway. The two Lhapas each received ten rupees from the Wasir as reward.

792 Namgyal returned to Kalatse richer by one experience. His fellow villagers received him with jubilation and many presents. They were all honestly overjoyed at his release from the claws of the hated Gobinath. The lama from the Break-leg house preferred not to show himself openly in Kalatse for a whole year long, although as a village priest he was responsible for the health of souls of the village inhabitants. His relatives--he also had a wife, like the majority of his "red" brothers in the order who had dropped celibacy--he had told that he was now "urgently needed" in the monastery. In his place a small, gentle little monk moved into his hermitage, who performed his office to the satisfaction of the villagers, because in his demands for the ceremonies to which he had been ordered, he kept strictly to the regulations, and because he did not practise usury.

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The T'selen (Messenger of Death) Comes

The Song of Death

Human form you attain
With difficulty like rare lotus.
Therefore leave your laughter!
Follow sacred law!
You indulge in your pleasure,
You think not of dying--
And suddenly death hunts you
From behind, he seizes you.
As the wolf strikes the sheep,
The god of death grips you.
Therefore think in solitude,
Do penance in the desert!
/200/ Wealth leads to vice,
Offers you up to hell.
Unchaste, loving women,
You only look for yourself.

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Custom of inheritance in Spiti.

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proprietory holdings of the first class is described in Section D. In the case of the little plots held by people of the *dotul* class, father and son live on together, as the land is too small to be divided, and there are no responsibilities which the father could transfer with the land to the son. In the same way two or more brothers of this class live on together, often with a wife in common, till one or other, generally the weakest, is forced out to find a subsistence elsewhere. Working for food or wages, and not the plot of land, is the chief source of subsistence to these people. Sometimes the son of a *dotul* becomes a monk, but, as a rule, this profession is confined to the younger sons of the regular landholders, who take to it of necessity, but get as maintenance the produce of a field set aside as *tao* or *tásing* (from *tába*, another word for *lámá*). It is, however, only the second son who is entitled to claim *tásing*, and many do not take it from their elder brothers, and have all in common with him, including their income from begging, funeral fees, &c. This is to the advantage of the elder brother, as a celibate monk's expenses are of course very small. When there are more than two brothers, the younger ones, though they cannot get *tásing*, are considered entitled to some subsistence allowance from the head of the family, but in return they do certain kinds of work for him in the summer, during which season only the elder monks remain in the monasteries. For instance, as long as they are *chamba* or *getsal*, that is, neophytes or deacons, and not *gelong* or fully-ordained monks or priests, they will carry loads and do all field work except ploughing; when *gelong*, they will cook, feed cattle and sheep, and do other domestic services, but not carry loads or cut grass or wood. But "once a monk always a monk" is not the law in Spiti. Supposing the head of a family to die and leave a young widow, with no son or a son of tender age only, then the younger brother, if there is one, almost always elects to leave the monastery, and thereupon he is at once considered his brother's widow's husband. She cannot object, nor is any marriage ceremony necessary. If there was a son by the elder brother, he of course succeeds when of full age, and his mother and uncle retire to the small house, and the other sons, if any, go into the monasteries in the usual way. So, again, if the head of the family has only daughters, and having given up hope of getting a son, wishes to marry one of the daughters and take her husband into the house as a son and heir, it generally happens that the younger brother in the monastery objects, and says that he will leave the priesthood and beget a son. In such case his right to do so is generally allowed: sometimes he will marry a wife to himself, and put his elder brother in the small house; sometimes, by agreement, he will cohabit with his sister-in-law in hope of getting a son by her. A monk who throws off the frock in this way has to pay a fine to his monastery. Many decline to become laymen: this is a rule in the case of those who have attained to the grade of *gelong*. Where the *lámá* brother declines, then it is agreed that in the lower part of the valley (*i.e.*, *kothís* Pín and Sham), the father or widow-mother can take a son-in-law to live in the house and succeed as son and heir, and no kinsmen (if there are any) can object. In the upper part of the

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valley this right does not appear to be so clearly established: the objections of near kinsmen are sometimes attended to, or a field or two given to them by way of compromise. Kinsmen, however, are of course very few, as the only way in which a younger brother can found a separate family is by becoming son-in-law and adopted son to another landholder. Such a man might claim on behalf of his younger son, but not on his own behalf or that of his eldest son, as it is a rule that for each holding or allotment there must be a separate resident head of the house to do service for it, as well as pay the revenue. [848] Sometimes an illegitimate descendant of the family, who has been living on the estate as a *yáng champa*, will claim as a kinsmen and succeed, but he cannot be said to have any absolute right or title. Unmarried daughters of a landholder are entitled to maintenance from their father, brother, or nephew, that is from the head of the family for the time being; he must either let them live in his house on equal terms with his own family, or must give them a separate house and plot of land; they forfeit their claim if they go away to live in any other man's house, but no other act of theirs will entitle their father or his successor to cast them off, or resume the house 595 and plot of land once given during their life-time. Many women live 587 and die as spinsters in their father's or brother's houses: their chance of marriage is small, as all younger sons become monks, and the monks are bound to celibacy (except in Pín *kothí*), and bigamy is only allowed in the case of the head of a family who has no son or expectation of getting one by the wife he first marries. In case the brother-in-law of a widow does not come out of the monastery to take his deceased brother's place, or in case there are no brothers-in-law, the widow can marry again, and does not forfeit her interest in the estate by so doing so long as she continues to reside on it: on the contrary, in default of issue by the first husband, the children by the second will succeed to the estate. She can marry any person of the same class as herself: if there happens to be a near kinsman available, she would be expected to select him, but whether it would be absolutely obligatory on her to do so is not quite clear. A marriage feast is given to celebrate the event.

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Customs and ceremonies connected with births, marriages, funerals, &c.

The best general account of the social customs of the Botiás[1] will be found in General Cunningham's *Ladákh*; but in the country now under discussion, and especially in Láhaul, the practice of the present day be found to differ in some details. The religious ceremony consists in almost all cases in the simple reading of prayers or passages from the holy books by a *lámá*, while the whole company of men and women sit round with clasped hands and down-cast eyes, and repeat the verses after the *lámá*. The social celebration of all these events consists mainly of feasts in which much *cháng* is drunk. [584 In Láhaul the decisive point in the negotiation for a betrothal is the acceptance or refusal of a pot of *cháng* sent to the father of the bride: if he drinks, the affair is settled without more words. 595 184 In Láhaul, polyandry, or the taking to wife of one woman by several brothers, is a recognized institution, and is very general; the object is to prevent the division of estates. Mr. Lyall remembers a case which came before him in which one of two brothers living in polyandry much wished to separately marry a girl by whom he had had an illegitimate

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[1] [i.e., Tibetans. See Source #1: Cunningham, West Tibetans File. -- Analyst]

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The Hindú Buddhism of Láhaul.

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Hindú ideas and prejudices. The process has been going on in some degree ever since the Rájas of Kúlu annexed the country, but it has been greatly accelerated of late years by the notice taken by our Government of the Láhauls and their headmen, and by their contact with Hindús more orthodox and exclusive than those of Kúlu and Chamba. The force of attraction which Hindú exclusiveness brings to bear upon outlying tribes is enormous, and seems to be in no way weakened by the fact that the Government is in the hands of Christians. That fact of political subjection leaves the Hindús no other vent for their pride of race but this exclusiveness, and therefore heightens its value. Moreover, the consolidation of many Hindú races into one great empire increases the power which Hindúism has always had of drawing outsiders into its circle, for in social matters the empire is Hindú, and as Hindús the Láhaulis are free citizens, while as Buddhists and Botiás (Tibetans) they would be left out in the cold. The Láhauli now looks upon the name of Boti as a term of reproach. One of the headmen, when in my camp on the borders of Ladákh, met his own brother-in-law, a Boti of Ladákh, and refused to eat with him for fear that my Hindú servants might tell tales against him in Kúlu and Kángra."

And in 1881 Mr. Anderson wrote :—

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"There are Buddhists in Láhaul, though there is a tendency now, as at the former Census, to record all as Kanet Hindús. *Lámás* are generally of the Kanet caste, though there are, I am told, cases where even *thákurs* have become *lámás*. The Kanet cuts his *choti* as does a *gosain*, and becomes the disciple of some *lámá*, and this may be even after marriage. The *lámás* of Láhaul (Drukhpa class) may marry. Their sons belong to their father's original caste. *Lámás* sometimes cease to belong to the priesthood, allow their *chotis* to grow, and are again received as Kanets. Women become nuns and live in the monasteries, where the morality is far from pure. It is common for cases of seduction to occur, and then the abbot imposes a fine (*dharmdand chostim*) in the shape of a feast to the fraternity. These facts show how intimately Hindúism and Buddhism are connected in Láhaul. It is still common for both Bráhmans and *lámás* to be present at marriages and funerals."

Religion of Láhaul and Spiti.

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The religion of Spiti is the Tibetan system of Buddhism, of which an excellent account is given in General Cunningham's *Ladákh*. The religion of Láhaul is the same, but mixed up with some ideas and observances borrowed from Hindúism, and with a substratum of the worship of local spirits and demons, which has already been described as existing in Kúlu, and which appears to be the primeval religion of the country of the high Himalayas inhabited by Hindú races. The following description of the religion of Láhaul was written down at Mr. Lyall's request by the Reverend Mr. Heyde in November 1868. His long residence among the people, by whom he is invariably respected, and great knowledge of their language and customs, ensure its accuracy :—

"The religion of Láhaul has been for a long time, and is still essentially Buddhism. It is, however, difficult to ascertain at what time this religion was introduced, as there do not exist any historical documents in Láhaul itself, and little reliance can be placed upon the vague traditions preserved by even the best informed men, such as *Thákur* Tára Chand and others. From their accounts, however, it may be gathered that long ago the kings of Ladákh, or rather a branch of the family (which at that time

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Religious ceremonies connected with agriculture.

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two *lámás* and two drums, some of the company carrying at the same time several large religious books on their backs; this done, the whole company sits down in the fields near the villages, and feasts on cakes and *cháng* supplied jointly by all the landholders. All this is done to secure the sprouting up of the seeds sown; after that the water-course for irrigating the fields is repaired, on which occasion a sheep is offered up to the *lhá* which is supposed to have special care of the water-course. Again, as soon as the seeds have sprouted, another ceremony is performed; this consists in sticking small branches of the pencil cedar here and there in the field, and burning incense, while some members of the family sit down, eat and drink a little, and murmur some prayers. This is to ensure that each grain which has sprung up may prosper and produce many ears. When the fields are nearly ripe, a goat or sheep is killed in honour of the *lhá*; in several villages horse-races are held at the same time. Till this festival of the ripening grain has been celebrated, nobody is allowed to cut grass or any green thing with a sickle made of iron, as in such case the field-god would become angry and send frost to destroy or injure the harvest. If, therefore, a Láhauli wants grass before the harvest sacrifice, he must cut it with sickle made of the horn of an ox or sheep, or tear it off with the hand. Infractions of this rule were formerly severely punished; at present a fine of one or two rupees suffices, which goes into the pocket of the *jágírdár* or village headman. The iron sickle is used as soon as the harvest has been declared to be commenced by the performance of the sacrifice. The above description, applies particularly to the ceremonies in use among the pure Buddhists of Láhaul, but somewhat similar rural customs prevail also amongst the half-Buddhists and among the people of Spiti.

The lámaic system. 779 792 ● 177

One of the most peculiar features of the *lámaic* system is the hierarchy from which it takes its name. The teaching of Buddha included an elaborate monastic system, but no priests, for there was no god to worship or ceremonies to perform, and no hierarchy, for all men were equal. And till about A. D. 1400 the *lámás* or monks of Tibet recognised no supreme head of the faith. But about that time the abbot of the Gáhldán monastery proclaimed himself the patriarch of the whole *lámáic* priesthood, and his successor, of the Tashi monastery, declared the grand *lámás* to be the perpetual re-incarnations of one of the Bodhisatwas or semi-Buddhas, who, as each *lámá* died, was born again in the person of an infant that might be known by the possession of certain divine marks. The fifth in succession founded the hierarchy of Dalai *lámás* at Lhásá in 1640, and made himself master of the whole of Tibet. He assumed the title of Dalai *lámá*, while the *lámá* of Tashi still continued to enjoy his former privileges; and thus we now have two great chairs filled by a double series of incarnations. There is a also third great *lámá* in Bhutan, known among the Bhutanis as the Dharma Rája, but among the Tibetans as Lord of the World. Below these three great *lámás* come the ordinary monks, who live for the most part in monasteries ruled by abbots whose only claim to precedence one over another is derived from the importance of the institution over which they preside, or from the

1 [See also preceding page, cat. 116 - Analyst]

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The *lámáic* system.

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influence of personal sanctity. They are, with the exception of the Drukhpa sect, bound to celibacy, at least while leading a monastic life, and are collectively called *gedun*, or clergy. They consist of *lámás* or full monks (for the word means nothing more), and novices or neophytes. There are also convents for nuns, which are very numerous. The *lámás* are distinguished by rosaries of 108 beads, which they wear as necklaces. Primogeniture obtains among the landholders of Spiti, the eldest son succeeding to the land as soon as he is of full age, and the father being pensioned off. The younger sons, as they grow up, retire to the ancestral cell in the monastery, where they support themselves by such industries as can be pursued within the walls of the building, and by alms and fees, often supplemented by an allowance from the eldest son. If the latter die without leaving a son, the eldest of his surviving brothers who cares to do so abandons the monastic life, resumes the property, and becomes the husband of the widow without further ceremony.

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The Tibetan *lámás* are divided into three chief sects, of which the most ancient are the Nyimapa, whose followers wear red clothes, and to which most of the *lámás* of Ladákh belong. The Drukhpa sect also wear red garments, and are ruled over by the Dharma Rája or great *lámá* of Bhutan, in which country they are most numerous. It would appear that the Spiti *lámás* belong partly and the Láhaul *lámás* almost entirely to this sect, which permits its monks to marry. The Gelukpa sect was founded about A. D. 1400 by the first great *lámá* of Gáhldán, and its followers are distinguished by yellow garments; the sect prevails chiefly in Tibet, and both the Dalai and the Tashi *lámás* belong to it.

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Monasteries or *gópha* in Láhaul and Spiti.

The largest and most noted monastery in Láhaul is that of Gúrú Ghantál which stands on a mountain above the point of confluence of the Chandra and Bhága rivers. The number of regular monks attached to it is small, and most of them belong by birth to Ladákh or other foreign countries. A tribute of the value of Rs. 30, half in cash and half in goods, is sent every year by the abbot to the abbot of the Togna monastery in Ladákh, who forwards it with other tribute on his own account to that of Kángri Donján, near the Mansarowar lake in Chinese Tibet, whence it goes in the same way to the monastery of Pangtang Dechinling in Bhután (*alias* Lo), of which the abbot bears the title of Nawang Námgiál. This dignitary seems as head of the mother monastery, to be *ex-officio* the head of the order to which all of them belong, for the other abbots were all appointed by an order given in his name, and relieved in the same way at the expiry of their term of office; the chain of affiliation by which the different monasteries were connected seems to be traceable to the history of their gradual foundation by missionaries sent out from each centre. But the fact of Ladákh having come into the dominion of a Hindú prince (the Mahárája of Kashmír) appears to have weakened the authority of the Nawang Námgiál, for of late years a mere deputy of the Ladákh abbot has acted as head of the Gúrú Ghantál monastery. All the landholders of Láhaul, excepting a few Bráhmans, pay a fee of Re. 1 or thereabouts to this monastery on the death of a member of the household.

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Monasteries or *gúpha* in Láhaul and Spiti.

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In the autumn the *nierpa* or treasurer, with some of the monastery tenants in attendance, goes through the whole country, and collects from every holding a customary fee called *dubri*, consisting of one *páth* of barley. In the spring a great festival takes place, known as the Ghantál Tcháchá, at which all comers are fed for one day. A long train of pilgrims may be seen engaged in making the circle on foot of the holy mountain,—a work of much religious efficacy, as it ought to be, seeing that it involves a trudge of about eighteen miles and an ascent and descent of several thousand feet. Mr. Lyall writes:—

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> "The third grand *lámá* of Tibet* visited Láhaul while I was there in 1867, inspecting the monasteries and giving his benediction to the people at places where he halted. He travelled in quaintly-shaped, bright-coloured tents carried on *yaks*, with a considerable retinue of monks. I saw him seated on a throne or platform built up in the open air, dressed in a mitre and silken canonicals, extraordinarily like those worn by Roman Catholic prelates. The monks formed a lane in front of the throne, up which the Láhaulis advanced in the most reverential manner to receive the blessing, and a bit of silk to be worn, I believe, as a talisman. After backing out of the presence, they made the circle of the throne, praying aloud as they walked. I saw one poor man present a pony, so the value of the offerings must have been considerable."

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The principal endowment of the five Spiti monasteries consists of the *pun* or assigned grain rents already described: the rent-free land they hold is of exceedingly trifling amount. The following table shows the number of monks in each monastery and the amount of *pun* they draw from each *kothí*:—

Name of monastery or *gúpha*.	Number of *lámás*.	Amount of "*pun*" collectable from each *kothí*.			Remarks.
		Name of *kothí*.	*Khal.*	*Tek.*	
Dankar or Láwope	90	Shám ...	137	14	Seventeen *khal* assigned to the family of astrologers, and forty to the Pittu monastery in Ladákh, have to be added to make up the sum total of the *pun*, *viz.*, 1,461 *khal* 7 *tek*.
		Chusi ...	120	...	
		Todpá ...	73	17	
			331	11	
Tábo	23	Shám ...	53	5	
		Chusi ...	124	19	
		Todpá ...	19	10	
			198	14	
Ki	100	Chusi ...	379	4	
		Bárjik ...	14	...	
		Todpá ...	60	...	
			453	4	
Tángiut ...	60	Chusi ...	222	...	
		Bárjik ...	67	16	
		Todpá ...	8	12	
		Pin ...	90	...	
			388	8	
Pin	100	Pin ...	81	10	

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* One of the three who is born again as soon as he dies; the man I saw was fair, plump and smooth faced, and not more than twenty years old I should say.—*Lyall*.

Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

Monasteries or *gúpha* in Láhaul and Spiti.

346 These monasteries are extensive buildings, standing on high
792 ground, and apart from the villages. In the centre of the pile are
the public rooms consisting of chapels, refectories, and store-rooms;
round them are clustered the separate cells in which the monks live.
Each landholder's family has its particular *tásha* or cell in the monastery to which it is hereditarily attached, and in this all the monks of
the family, uncles, nephews, and brothers, may be found living together. The monks ordinarily mess in these separate quarters, and
keep their books, clothes, cooking utensils, and other private property in them. Some mess singly, others two or three together. A
boy monk, if he has no uncle to look after him, is made a pupil to
some old monk, and lives in his cell; there are generally two or
three chapels, one for winter, another for summer, and a third
perhaps the private chapel of the abbot or head *lámá*. The monks
meet in the chapel to perform the services, which ordinarily consist
of readings from the sacred books; a sentence is read out and then
repeated by the whole congregation. Narrow carpets are laid
lengthways on the floor of the chapel, one for each monk; each has
[554] his allotted place, and a special position is assigned to the reader:
the abbot sits on a special seat of honour, raised a little above the
common level of the floor; the chapels are fine large rooms open
down the centre, which is separated from the sides by rows of wooden
778 pillars. At the far end is the altar consisting of a row of large
792 coloured figures, the images of the *avatár* or incarnation of Buddha
346 of the present age, of the coming *avatár* of the next age, and of
532 Gúrú Rimbochi, Atishá, and other saints. In some chapels a number of small brass images from China are ranged on shelves on one
side of the altar, and on the other stands a book-case full of the
sacred books, which are bundles of loose sheets printed from engraved slabs in the fashion which has been in use in Tibet for many
centuries. The walls all round the chapel are painted with figures
of male or female divinities, saints, and demons, or hung with pictures
on cloth with silk borders; similar pictures on cloth are also suspended across the chapel on ropes; the best pictures are brought
from Great Tibet as presents to the monastery by monks who return
from taking the degree of Gelang at Lhású, or who have been living
for some years in one of the monasteries of that country. They are
painted in a very quaint and conventional style, but with consider-
[788] able power of drawing and colouring. Huge cylindrical prayer-
wheels, which spin round at a slight touch of the finger, stand round
[796] the room, or on each side of the altar. In the store-rooms among
the public property are kept the dresses, weapons, and fantastic
masks used in the *chám* or religious plays (these masks much resemble the monstrous faces one sees in the carving outside Gothic
Cathedrals); also the drums and cymbals, and the robes and quaint
head-dresses worn by the superior monks at high ceremonies.*

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* The *chám* or religious dances performed in the Tibetan monasteries are worth seeing: if introduced into a Christmas Pantomine in London, they would be effective as tableaux or spectacles. The abbot and superior monks, dressed in full canonicals, sit round the court-yard of the monastery, clanking huge cymbals to a slow time or measure. Bands of other monks, dressed in brilliant silk robes, with hideous masks, or extraordinary head-dresses, and with strange weapons in their hands, dance

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Monasteries or *gónpha* in Láhaul and Spiti.

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The refectory or public kitchen is only used on the occasion of certain festivals, which sometimes last several days, during which special services are performed in the chapels; while these festivals last the monks mess together, eating and drinking their full of meat, barley, butter and tea. The main source from which the expense of these feasts is met is the *pun*, which is not divided among the monks for every-day consumption in the separate cells. To supply his private larder, each monk has, in the first place, all he gets from his family in the shape of the produce of the "*lámá's* field" or otherwise; secondly he has his share, according to his rank in the monastery, of the *bula* or funeral offerings and of the harvest alms; thirdly, anything he can acquire in the way of fees for attendance at marriages or other ceremonies or in the way of wages for work done in the summer. The funeral offerings made to the monasteries on the death of any member of a household consist of money, clothes, pots and pans, grain, butter, &c.; the harvest alms consist of grain collected by parties of five or six monks sent out on begging expeditions all over Spiti by each monastery just after the harvest. They go round from house to house in full dress, and standing in a row, chant certain verses, the burden of which is—"we are men who have given up the world, give us, in charity, the means of life; by so doing you will please God whose servants we are." The receipts are considerable, as each house gives something to every party. On the death of a *lámá*, his private property, whether kept in his cell or deposited in the house of the head of the family, goes not to the monastery, but to his family, first to the *lámás* of it, if any, and in their default, to the head or *káng chimpa*. When a *lámá* starts for Lhásá, to take his degree, his *káng chimpa* is bound to give him what he can towards the expenses of the journey, but only the better-to-do men can afford it; many who go to Lhásá get high employ under the Lhásá Government, are sent to govern monasteries, &c., and remain there for years; they return in old age to their native monastery in Spiti bringing a good deal of wealth, of which they always give some at once to their families.

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Monks and friars

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The monks of Pín are of the Dukhpa, and not of the Gelukpa or celibate class to which those of the other four monasteries belong; they marry in imitation of their patron saint Gúrú Rimbóchi, though in their books marriage is not approved of; this saint founded several orders, of which that to which the monks of Pín belong is the most ancient, and is called Ngyángma. The wives and families of the monks live not in the monasteries, but in small houses in the villages. Every son of a *lámá* or monk becomes a *bozan*, which is the name given to a low order of strolling monks or friars. There are nineteen families of these *bozans* in Pín *kothí*. Sometimes the younger son of a landholder becomes a *bozan* in preference to going into the monastery. These *bozans* are a very curious set of people; they get a living by wandering in small parties

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in time to the measure, advancing and retreating, turning and whirling with strange studied steps and gestures. The story of the ballet is the combat of the gods with the demons. The latter had become too powerful and tyrannical over mankind, so the gods descended from heaven, took the shapes of strange beasts and in that guise fought with and destroyed them.

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773

through all the neighbouring countries, stopping at every village, and acting plays, chanting legends, and dancing like whirling dervishes; many also trade in a small way by bartering grain for salt with the Tibetans, and then exchanging the salt with the Kanáwar people for iron, buckwheat, or honey; they also often undertake to carry loads for travellers across the passes, as substitutes for the landholders. They dress much like other monks; but, instead of shaving their heads, wear their hair in long straight twists, which, gives them a very wild appearance.* According to the story told Mr. Lyall in Spiti the *bozan* order was found by one Tánk-tong Giálpo (*lit.* king of the desert) under the following circumstances:—A certain king of Lhású perverted the people of Tibet from Buddhism to a new religion of his own. He succeeded so well that in the course of fifty years the old faith was quite forgotten, and the *Om máni pádme hun*, or sacred ejaculation, quite disused. To win back the people, Tehan-rezig, the divinity worshipped at Triloknáth caused an incarnation of himself to be born in a king's house in the person of Táng-tong Giálpo; the child grew up a saint and a reformer; he saw that it was impossible to reclaim the people by books, and he therefore adopted the dress since worn by the *bozans*, and spent his life in wandering from village to village, offering to amuse the people by acting miracle-plays on condition of their repeating after him the chorus *Om máni pádme hun* whenever it occurred in the chants or recitation. In this way the people became again accustomed to repeat the sacred sentence, "their mouths became purified," and the religion of Buddha revived.† There is something rather impressive about the performances of these *bozans*. A long screen is first put up formed of pictures illustrative of the legends, and quaintly painted in brilliant colours on cloth edged with silk. An image of the patron saint or founder of the order is enthroned in front of the screen; the leaders of the company then appear in front of it, wearing a head-dress formed of a mass of streamers of bright-coloured silk. Conch shells are blown to collect the crowd, and barley thrown into the air as an offering to the saint: the proceedings then commence by an introductory chant by the leaders to the accompaniment of a kind of guitar; every now and then the whole crowd of men and women join in with the chorus of *Om mani pádme hun* which they give with much fervour, keeping good time, and blending their voices harmoniously. After a time the rest of the company come forward dressed up and masqued, and perform a play with interludes of dances to the music of cymbals,‡ the dancing

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* In 1868-69, when one of the three grand *lámás* of Tibet made a visitation tour through Láhaul and Spiti, the *bozans* were admonished to cut off their hair, at the unclerical appearance of which the grand *lámá* professed himself greatly scandalized.

† Mr. Lyall, from whom this description is taken, says:—"There may be errors in this story, and it may be a wrong account of the foundation of the order. I give it as it was told me in Spiti to show the kind of ideas the people have in their heads at the present day. Any one who wants serious information as to Tibetan Buddhism can refer to General Cunningham's *Ladákh.*"

‡ Mr. Lyall, who is again being quoted, writes:—"I took the trouble on one occasion to find out the story of the legend which was being recited and enacted; the gist of it was as follows:—A certain anchorite who had lived alone for twelve years in an inaccessible forest, one day washed his robe in a pool in the hollow of a rock. A doe drank the water in the pool, conceived therefrom, and gave birth at the

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suits I have very rarely had to call witnesses: cross examination usually brought about a perfect agreement as to facts."

Mr. Anderson, however, remarks that the people have altered for the worse in respect of veracity since Mr. Lyall's time.

SECTION C.—TRIBES AND CASTES AND LEADING FAMILIES.

564 **Castes in Láhaul.**

Mr. Lyall, writing in 1869, thus describes the castes in Láhaul:—

144 "The distribution into castes is as follows:—Thákurs 216, Bráhmans
502, Kanets 4,566, Dágis 360, Lohárs 277, Barárás 10, Sunyárs 3, Hensís
17. The Thákurs are the *jágírdárs* and their offshoots; they are beginning
to assert a Rájpút origin, but, in point of fact, are more or less pure Botis
or Mongolians by blood. The Bráhmans are only found in Pattan and
are descendants of emigrants from Chamba, Láhaul and other countries to
the south. The so-called Láhaul Kanets are a mixed race, but the
Mongolian element predominates over the Indian. Many of those who
live in Pattan are, no doubt, descendants of Kanet settlers from
Kúlu and Bangáhal; the rest, and the inhabitants of Gára and
Rangloi, are pure Botiás or nearly so; the remaining tribes are also of
mixed race; they constitute the lower classes who do not hold regular
allotments of land, and subsist in part by serving for wages or by handicrafts.
The Dágís have probably the least admixture of Botiá blood of any
race in Láhaul; they came from Kúlu in the time of the Rájas, and now
act as musicians in the temples and in some of the monasteries. Only a
few of the Lohárs now act as blacksmiths; the Barárás are basket-makers;
the Hensís are professional musicians, whose daughters act as dancing girls.
564 Every year a number of the Kanets of Pattan spend the winter in washing
465 for gold at Cheling, in Ladákh or on the Zánskár river; they pay a tax
of one or two rupees per head to the Ladákh Government, and earn on an
651 average four tolas or a little more (—1½ to 2 oz.) of pure gold in the season;
they form themselves into companies of fifteen or twenty men, and appoint
captains of each gang. All classes speak Tibetan, but that spoken in
197 Pattan contains a great admixture of Hindi; each valley also has a distinct
dialect of its own. Generally speaking, in Botiá or Tibetan countries,
565 there are no distinctions of caste; there is a class distinction between the
agriculturists, who form the great mass of the population, and the artizans,
musicians, and others who live by wages; but though this prevents intermarriage,
it does not separate the classes in the way that the rules of caste
separate different tribes of Hindús. Spiti still resembles other Tibetan
564 countries in this respect. But the people of Láhaul are rapidly adopting
177 the caste system among other Hindú customs. There are only
seven regular *lámás* in Láhaul, that is, *lámás* who live always in the
792 monasteries and have no other occupation; but there are 110 of the
landholders who own land and cultivate, and have very little of the monk
about them, but have taken a vow and are attached as *lámás* to some
monastery or other. These are found chiefly in the Gárá country, where
also there are seventy-one nuns known by the names of *chomo*. These
monks and nuns can all read and write the Tibetan character; one nun can
calculate an eclipse: the same building serves for both monastery and
nunnery, but is only fully occupied in the winter."

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Village Communities and Tenures.

Caste in Spiti.

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of Láhaul. They are mendicant minstrels, the men playing the pipes and kettle-drums, while the women dance, sing and play the tambourine. They sometimes engage in trade, but only in a small way by barter; and the saying *Hensi ka sauda* implies that a transaction is mean and paltry. They *never* own land, and "the Beda no land, the dog no load" is a proverbial saying. They are considered low and disreputable; and other classes will not eat food together with or cooked by them. In 1868, of the men who returned themselves as Kanets, 382 were *lámás* or monks attached to the five monasteries. Of the women only about ten are nuns, and they do not spend the winter in the monasteries like the nuns of Láhaul, but live at home with their fathers or brothers. Many other women in Spiti live at home unmarried all their lives; others who cannot get married in a legitimate way walk off to Tibet with pedlars or traders, or go to live with some *dotul* or labouring man who takes their fancy. Some of the richer landholders have men-servants living in their houses who are known as *lápas*; they eat from their master's table, are servants of all work, and do not marry, though they often keep company with some unmarried woman of the house or neighbourhood. One or two men-servants are kept in each monastery to light fires, &c., and are called *táwás* or *togochís*.

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Leading families. 564

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The Thákurs are the gentry and quondam rulers of the valley. They are more or less pure Botias or Mongolians by blood, but are beginning, as the natural sequence to the Hindúising tendency already described, to assert a Rájpút origin. Three families of Thákurs retain in modern times a status of importance as *jágírdárs*—that of Hari Chand, *negí* of Láhaul, who holds his village of Kolong, or Todpa, in *jágír*; that of Devi Chand, who holds Ghamrang; and that of Híra Chand, who holds Gondola. The aggregate cash assessment of these *jágírs* is Rs. 975, subject, however, to payments (*nazarána*) aggregating Rs. 250 per annum. Thákur Hari Chand, son of Tára Chand, in virtue of his office as *negí*, receives certain other emoluments. The most important of these are one-fourth the total revenue grazing dues in *khalsa kothís*, and fines in criminal cases.

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SECTION D.—VILLAGE COMMUNITIES AND TENURES.

Sub-divisions in Láhaul: Nature of townships and villages. 634

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Láhaul is sub-divided by the people into Rangloi or the Chandra valley, Gárah or Punán, the Bhága valley, and Pattan or the valley of the Chandra Bhága. The first valley contains four *kothís*, the second four, and the third six, making fourteen *kothís* in all. Some of the *kothís* correspond with the boundaries of the existing or extinct *jágírs* or fiefs of the Thákurs or petty barons of Láhaul. The rest are merely groups of villages or hamlets, which have for long past been connected for administration purposes. For instance, *kothí* Ranikí consists of several villages, scattered here and there among those of other *kothís*, which were formerly held in *jágír* by a Kúlu princess, and which have ever since held together as one community under one headman. Nor is the village (as Mr. Barnes says of the hamlet in Kángra) the elementary part of the system in Láhaul;

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[651] **Village Communities and Tenures.**

427 Rights of the Thakurs and subordinate landholders of all kinds in *jágír kothís* in Láhaul.

or forced labour for the State, and of certain periodical services to the Thákur; an average *jeola* contains about 15 *lákh*, or 5 acres. A *dotoen's* holding is on an average equal in extent to from one to two *jeolas*; a *cháksi's* holding varies between a half and a whole *jeola*, a *káng chumpá* generally holds only about a quarter *jeola* or less. There are some other small miscellaneous rent-free holdings, the revenue of which must be considered to have been remitted, not in lieu of service to the Thákur, but for the good of the whole community. For example, a few fields known as *garzing* are generally held rent-free by a family of blacksmiths or *lohárs* not so much in lieu of service, for they are paid for their work separately, as to help them to a livelihood, and induce them to settle down. In the same way the *hensís* or musicians hold a little land rent-free under the name of *bezing*; the *jodsis* or astrologers under the name of *onpozing*, and the *béds* or physicians under the name of *manzing*. Astrologers and physicians are, however, men of the regular landholding class, who have also separate *jeolas* or holdings of revenue-paying land. The *lohárs* and *hensís* are low class people, who hold no land, except a few fields given them rent-free. The *garhpán* land, no doubt, belongs solely to the Thákur, who is also landlord or superior prorpietor of the whole *kothí*. "The *yulfa* or villagers," writes Mr. Lyall, "I hold to to be subordinate proprietors of their holdings; so are the *dotoens*. At first was I inclined to think that the *cháksis* and *káng chumpás* were mere tenants in the *garhpán* or private lands of the Thákurs, but on further enquiry their title did not seem to be essentially weaker than that of any other class. They are never evicted, and the custom with regard to inheritance and power of mortgage, with regard to their holdings, and those of the regular landholders, appears to be precisely the same. I consider them therefore to be also su[illegible] proprietors of their holdings, differing only from the y[illegible]smuch as they pay no rent, and do private service only to [illegible]kur; whereas the latter pay rent and do public service for the State (*begár*), as well as occasional private service to the Thákur. [425] I do not think that the *lohárs*, the *jodhsis* or the *béds*, could now be evicted from the fields they hold rent-free under name of smiths, astrologers, and physicians' land. Probably they could have been evicted by a vote of the community or order of the Thákur in former times, but the general idea now seems to be that they could hardly be evicted, however inefficient. The *hensís*, however, seem to be considered to hold at the pleasure of the Thákur." [792] In some places a field or two are found held rent-free by a *gonpa* or Buddhist monastery, and cultivated not by any one family, but by the neighbouring landholders in unison. This land is considered to be the property of the monastery. So also patches of land under the name of *lházing* or god land, cultivated by the man who acts for the time being as *pujári* or priest of some petty local divinity, are considered the property of the shrine, if there is any, and not of the cultivator, who only holds till he vacates the office of priest, which is not hereditary. [527] *Yurzing* is the term applied to small fields found in many villages, the grain of which is devoted to a feast held by the men who repair a canal. It should be considered the common property of all shareholders in the canal. There are

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The Thákur takes the *chatrú* or colts from landholders of every class: the custom is that when a mare foals, and her master sees that he is not the lucky owner of a filly, he at once takes both mare and colt to the Thákur's house; there he is presented with a new cap as a mark of favour, and leaves his mare to be kept for six months at the Thákurs expense. The nature of the holdings, and of the rents and services paid to the Thákurs, are the same in all the *jágírs*; there are differences of detail, but they do not require to be mentioned.

Land held by the Gúrú Ghantál monastery.

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The big monastery of Gúrú G[illegible]tál, with its chapels of ease at Koksar and Sansa, holds a good deal of land in different *kothís* rent-free as endowment. More than half is held of the *gonpa* by *káng chumpá* tenants, who by way of rent only present annually some shoulders of mutton, pots of whisky, and plaited sandals; but are bound to perform certain fixed services, such as the cultivation of the rest of the monastery land, the sweeping of snow off the roof of the monastery in winter, the bringing in so many faggots for winter fuel, &c.

Rights retained by the quondam Thákur of Birbogi.

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There is a family in Birbogí which at one time were Thákurs of the *kothí*, and are not yet entirely out of possession. The present head is named Tángan Choigyál, an old man of eighty; his son is *lambardár* of the *kothí*; their manor house (now in ruins) is a very conspicuous object in the landscape, as most of these Thákurs' houses are. The family was in full possession till about the beginning of this century, when Rája Bikrámá Singh of Kúlu picked a quarrel with the then Thákur, and resumed the cash, cloth, and colts out of the items of revenue, leaving him only the grain item as a means of subsistence. This arrangement remained in force, though there is nothing to show that any Sikh or British official was aware of it, till about ten years ago, when grain having risen in price, the landholders, by agreement with the head of the family, converted the grain dues into cash, which has since been paid by each *jeola* in the proportions in which the grain used to be paid.[*] Each, moreover, continues to furnish a man for the two great *bestis*, that is, for sowing the barley and cutting the hay on the fields owned by the quondam Thákur. These fields were also in great part excused from bearing their share of the revenue of the *kothí* by the other landholders when they distributed it at Regular Settlement. This is all that remains to the present head of the family of its former privileges. He seems to be entitled to a position not unlike that of a *talúkdár* of a village in the plains.

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Rights in water in Láhaul.

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The small canals upon which cultivation in Láhaul depends seem to have been always constructed and kept in repair entirely by the landholders of the villages which use them. They are considered therefore to be the property of the shareholders in the water, who cast lots [illegible] year to decide the rotation in which each man shall irri[illegible] his fields. Each holding furnishes a man for repairs; fines are levied on absentees, and consumed in a common feast with the produce of the *yurzing* or canal field, if there is one. The

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[*] By each *jeola*, excepting those held by two families of *dejors*, or kinsmen of the Thákur.

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Village Communities and Tenures.

Distribution of fields comprised in an ordinary holding or household allotment in Spiti.

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grain, about equal to its rateable assessment; but where it is small, as is usually the case, he pays a small cash fee only, which is really rather a hearth-tax than a share of the land-revenue, to which, however, it is credited in collection. The *káng chungpá* is not liable for any share of common expenses (a heavy charge in Spiti,) nor for performance of *begár* or forced labour. On occasions of a great demand for men to do some work near the village he may be impressed, but the principle is that he is free. Sometimes, in the absence of a living father, the widowed mother, or the grand-father, or an uncle, aunt, or unmarried sister, occupies the small house and land on the same terms. A *yáng chungpá* is the term used to describe a person living on an estate in a separate house of lower degree than that of the *káng chungpá*. Such a person is always some relation of the head of the family; he may be the grand-father who has been pushed out of the small house by the retirement of his own son, the father, but it is commoner to find unmarried sisters, aunts, or their illegitimate offspring in this position.*

A small plot of land is generally attached to the house, and a few annas of revenue paid, but rather as [illegible]-tax on account of grass, wood, water, &c., than as the share of [illegible] land-tax on the plot held. In proof of this some *yáng chungpás* have no land attached to the house, but pay like the others. Most of these people would be entitled to some maintenance from the head of the family if he did not give them a plot of land. They are not liable to be impressed for ordinary *begár*, but must help on occasions of great demand near home. They often do distant *begár*, however, in place of the head of the family by mutual agreement. On many holdings another class of people are found living in a dependent position towards the *káng chimpá* or head of the family. They have a small house to themselves, with or without a patch of land attached; generally they pay an anna or two to revenue, whether they hold land or not. In fact in this respect, and with regard to liability to *begár*, they are much on the same footing as the *yáng chungpá*; the fundamental difference is that they are not related to the head of the family, and have got their house or house and land, not with reference to any claim to maintenance, but out of favour, or for the mutual benefit of both parties. They are, therefore, expected to do a great deal of field work for him. People of this class are called *dotul*, literally smoke-makers, because they have a hearth to themselves, but no other interest in the land. To mark the fact that they hold of one particular landholder, the word *ránki*, meaning private or particular, is added. All the land held by the *káng chungpá* and by *yáng chungpás* and *ránki dotuls*, pertains to the holding or allotment, cannot be alienated, and lapses to the *káng chimpá*. The latter could not of course evict a *káng chungpá*, and the general feeling is that when he has once given a plot to a *yáng chungpá*, he could not resume it, except with consent; but he could resume from a *ránki*

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* In Pin *kothi* the *buzan* families, who are the descendants of monks of an order in which marriage is permissible, commonly hold a house and small plot from the family from which they sprung, and are in the position of *yáng chungpás*.

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dotul, and would be considered quite justified in so doing on the grounds of customary service not having been properly performed.* The rules of inheritance in *dotul* holdings have been described in Section B of this Chapter (page 96.)

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In most holdings also a plot of from one to half a *khal* will be found in the occupation of the *lámá* brother or uncle of the head of the family. It is ploughed and sown by the latter, but the *lámá* provides the seed and gets the whole produce. There are *lámás* in almost every family, as all younger sons of the landholders are forced by custom to enter the monasteries. This maintenance land of a *lámá* is called *táo* or *tázing*, and reverts of course to the head of the family on the death of the *lámá*.

Holdings or allotments other than those of the *talfá* or revenue-paying landholders (Spiti).

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There are some fields at Dankar attached to the old fort there, which are like it the property of Government. The *Nono*, in virtue of his office, provides for the cultivation of the fields, and takes the produce. He is bound in return to keep the fort in repair. The *Nono* also holds other lands equal to several ordinary holdings in extent, which are his ancestral property; they are rent-free, and are mostly situated at Kuiling, where he resides. The Pín *Nono* also has rent-free land, but not more than equal to an ordinary holding in extent. At a place called Táshigong, a family of hereditary astrologers (*choba*) hold two allotments granted to them by the kings of Ladákh free of demand for revenue or *begár*.† Four families of blacksmiths also hold a rather small allotment apiece, and pay only a hearth-tax, not full revenue. The above are all independent estates of the same grade as those of the revenue-paying landholders, and inherited in the same way by the eldest son.

Fields excluded from the regular household allotment.

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There are two families who, in addition to their revenue-paying allotments, also hold good-sized plots rent-free under the name of *manzing*; they are *umchie* or hereditary practisers of the art of medicine, and this land was granted to them in support of the art. The general opinion is that if they abandon the art, the *manzing* or physician's field could be taken from them and transferred to another. Many of the landholders practise medicine, but only these two families hold *manzing*. Certain fields are the full property of the monasteries: they pay no revenue, and are generally either near the monastery to which they belong, or in adjacent villages. The lands of the Dankar monastery is cultivated by six tenants, landholders in Dankar, who pay half produce as rent; that of the Pín monastery is cultivated gratuitously by the *Nono* of Pín; the men of Chuzí *kothí*, as the special clients of the monks, cultivate the lands of the other monasteries, but the monks are expected to give the men who actually do the work something for their trouble. In many villages there are one or two fields known as *Lhazing* or God-

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* He could resume the plot of land, but apparently he could not always evict from the house, as that has sometimes been built by the *dotul* himself.

† The phraseology of the deed of grant is curious. It is drawn up and attested by officials with high sounding titles, singed and sealed at 'our palace,' &c., and promises that the grant shall endure till the feathers of the raven turn white and the snow on the mountains black.

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Chapter V, B.

Land and Land Revenue.

Sikh revenue administration and arrangements made at Summary and Regular Settlement (Spiti).

in the time of the kings of Ladákh. The balance he appropriated as a perquisite of office. This balance was not very large, as the amount paid by each holding was somewhat reduced when the *Nono* took charge. At the Regular Settlement in 1851-52 Mr. Barnes maintained the Government demand at the amount fixed by Mr. Vans-Agnew; he remained unaware of the grain payments, for he never visited Spiti, and relied upon Major Hay's report for his information, which in this respect was erroneous. He, however, sent up a *tahsíldár* to make out a rough kind of rent-roll or *khewat*. This official roughly divided the Rs. 753 upon all five *kothís* with reference to the number of holdings in each. He must have heard of the grain payment, but he was in a great hurry, and seems to have considered that they could not be taken into account; so, without making any report to Mr. Barnes, he made the holdings in Chuzí pay as much cash as those of other *kothís*, though they paid ten times as much grain. Not to pay the grain to the monasteries would have been sacrilege, and would have been resented by the whole community, so the Chuzí men paid the grain as before, though with much grumbling, which no officer of Government seems to have heard or understood. In 1862 Mr. Lyall submitted a report, in which he recommended that the *pun* or assigned grain, with that part of the *netal* or unassigned grain which was annually devoted to religious purposes, should be lumped together, and the sum total redistributed equally by the people on all holdings, and that the remainder of the *netal* should be remitted, and the *Nono* remunerated for the loss of this and other unauthorized collections by an *inám* or grant out of the revenue of Rs. 100 or 150. These proposals were not fully understood by officers who had never seen the country, and no definite orders were passed for some years. Eventually the *Nono* got an *inám* and was given to understand that he must not collect the *netal*; the monasteries were left to collect the *pun* as before, but it was not formally at least recognized as assigned revenue. This did not relieve the Chuzí men of their grievance, but in fact made it worse by comparison, for it was the *khálsa kothís* to whom the *netal* was remitted. Mr. Forsyth, the Commissioner of the Division, again represented their case to Government in 1866; and as revision of Settlement had then commenced, Mr. Lyall was directed to go to Spiti and redistribute the revenue so as to get rid of their grievance. Mr. Forsyth also recommended the revival of a part of the *netal* collections (which had practically ceased only for a year or two) to form a fund from which to pay the *lambardárs* of *kothís*, and the grant of an increased *inám* at six annas in the rupee on the revenue of Spiti to the *Nono*. These proposals were approved. Eventually Mr. Lyall revised the *netal* collections not in part, but in whole, and recommended their assignment in part to village officials and in part to other purposes to which they were applied by custom of former days.* The grievance of the men of Chuzí *kothí*

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* The *pun* paid to monasteries by present returns amounts to 1,461 *lákh* 7 *path*, and the *netal* to 456 *lákh* 11 *path*. The total grain revenue, therefore, amounts to 1,917 *lákh* 18 *path*, which at 2 *lákh* per rupee, a rather low price, is equal to Rs. 959.

553 793 [565] The wealthy take their children to the monastery to be named and pay a heavy fee, but the poor bring the *láma* to their homes, feed him and give him a small present of cash or grain.

The child to be named must be over a year old and may be as much as three years old.

[766] [787] If a child die without being named, it is buried. If it dies after the naming ceremony, the Sacred Books are consulted as to the disposal of the body.

The naming ceremony is not considered to have any effect on the child's future.

Adoption.

a.—Where there is no son.

597 584 If a land-owner have no son, but only a daughter, she is ordinarily married to a man ranking as an adopted son. This man must be a younger son and so able to leave his father's house. He is not in any way looked down on.

However, if the land-owner have a younger brother who would ordinarily be a *láma* he can object, because a son-in-law can only be taken into the house as heir with his consent, and he can claim to cohabit with the land-owner's wife and beget a son. Or, if the wife be old, he can marry another woman and try and get a son by her. If he does, the elder sonless brother is turned into the *khang chung*, and the *láma* takes possession of the *khang chhen*.

b.—Where there is no child.

If there is no child and no younger brother, or if the younger brother does not object, the land-owner adopts a married man of his own *got*, or he adopts a girl and finds a husband for her who is made his heir. If in this case, the younger brother objects he can be bought off with a field or a pony or money or some similar present.

c.—The adopted son.

597 428 ● [792] Once a man is adopted as a son, he cannot be set aside, but there can be no adoption if a real son exists. If, after adopting a son, a real son is born, the latter becomes a younger son, and has to become a *láma* or is given a field for maintenance, while the adopted son gets the main portion of the land. The real son cannot object.

597 582 it must be remembered that in a land where only the eldest son marries and all the younger sons are celibate, a sonless land-owner naturally has no relations in the male line to adopt.

d.—Where there is a childless widow.

587 423 If a man dies childless, his widow first marries his younger brother. Failing him, she may marry any man of her husband's *got*. But the land is considered her property till she has borne a son, who, on attaining his majority, steps into the *khang chhen*.

Cremation.

764 Coffins are not used in Spiti for want of wood. Corpses are carried in a sitting posture to the burning-ground either on a man's shoulder or in a blanket held by four men.

II.

Social Ideas.

Asceticism.

785 Hermits exist and are said to subsist on nothing but tea and one morning meal.

Excommunication.

564 681 A man can be excommunicated for eating with a man or cohabiting with a woman of lower caste than himself. The decision is announced by public proclamation.

792 688 The *lámas* taking no part in this, but they turn out a *láma* who misbehaves himself and he is never taken back in any circumstances.

688 564 An excommunicated layman can be received back into caste after ceremonies. He has to read a book on *shakspa* or penitential offerings, burn a lamp in front of a *deota*, feast the *lámas*, and may be ordered to make 100 or 1,000 prostrations before some *deota* in a monastery.

Leprosy.

823 753 Leprosy is found in one village in Spiti, ascribed to the water of a spring, wherein lives a devil, Chutalwá.

If a man passes the spring on a day when the devil happens to be present, he is liable to get leprosy.

582 753 A leper is not allowed to marry, but if married, he is not separated from his wife. He feeds by himself in a separate room and the villagers will not eat with him.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ

133 This clear, cold stream runs into the Indus; and at their confluence sits the bleak village of Upshi.

The Indus rises in a Himalayan basin nearly seventeen thousand feet high. Once it was fed by numerous lakes. Now these lakes are mostly landlocked and turning to salt. The Indus is a powerful stream, cutting its way through the Ladakh range of the Himalayas. The Indus is an international waterway; it rises in Tibet, flows through northern India, traverses the length of Pakistan, and empties into the Indian Ocean near Karachi. It is cosmopolitan in character, giving its waters to a greater number
[823] of races than any other stream in the world. The Indus is a legendary stream. The Tibetans call it the River of the Lion, since it is said to flow from a lion's mouth. The folklore is that those who drink the water of the Indus will be heroic like a lion. And the bed of the river is thought to be covered by sands of diamonds.

This day in August 1951, the Indus was swollen with snow water and running dark with clay. It poured through narrow channels with an angry roar and spread wide where the channel
[311] flattened out. Crude irrigation canals led off to fields of barley and corn. The valley below Upshi is several miles wide; and the land lay mostly unused, the vast potential of the Indus being largely untapped.

About five miles below Upshi is Marchelang, a village of a few hundred people—a garden in a washed and rock-strewn land. At this point the Indus Valley runs east and west. A wide canyon opens to the north, a canyon leading to Tibet and China over the 18,370-foot Chang La Pass. To the south there is a small canyon
• 792 or nulla. It was to that one we turned, and in a few miles came
346 to Hemis Monastery.

Many monasteries in Ladakh and Tibet are castellated buildings perched on high cliffs and thus protected from marauders and invaders. Hemis, founded about A.D. 1047, holds no such strategic position. It lies deep in a narrow nulla which is from a quarter to a half mile wide. The canyon walls rise over Hemis 792 three or four thousand feet to peaks eighteen thousand feet and 346 more high. There are springs of pure cold water in the nulla; and thick stands of the Lombardy-type poplar fill the deep hollow with shade.

The main monastery building is a crude three-storied affair built in typical Tibetan fashion—low doors, rock walls, wood rafters, mud floors, and flat mud roofs. This massive building houses most of the lamas who make Hemis their home and headquarters. It feeds them in great dining halls and sleeps them in tiny cells. There are numerous small houses scattered along the nulla, residences of the Incarnate Lama, the higher-ranking lamas, and lamas who are married (Hemis is a monastery of the Red Sect, which, in contrast to the Yellow Sect, permits its lamas to marry). There is one house reserved for visitors. It lies in deep shade by a brook that runs below the main monastery building. It has one large room with a dirt floor and a covered veranda that opens on a grassless yard. The lama who greeted us took us there, and we were about to unload our pack train when the order was countermanded. We were invited instead to the residence of the Incarnate Lama.

We dropped to the creek bed and then climbed sharply to a 792 poplar orchard on the far side of which were several low houses. 231 Tibetans have a custom of chaining mastiffs to their houses. The Ladakhis follow suit. These mastiffs spend their lives tied by a chain fastened to massive collars. As a result of their confinement, they develop ferocious qualities. They lunge at passers-by, straining at their collars and growling viciously. There was such a mastiff on the top of the veranda of the house next to the home of the Incarnate Lama. Our coming produced a terrific uproar. The dog seemed to be almost choking with rage as he jumped at us again and again. The sight of us set up such a powerful turmoil in him that he barked the whole of the two days we were there. Every time I woke in the night he was still barking.

• 792 Since the Incarnate Lama is a young boy of eleven, there is an older lama who serves as his teacher and *alter ego*. This lama is called a Lobon or Guru.

The Lobon is a famous institution in Lamaism. The Incarnate Lama is always a young boy who is trained by the Lobon. During the minority of the Incarnate Lama, the Lobon is regent. He is, in other words, head of the monastery until the Incarnate Lama comes of age. His authority is supreme in temporal and spiritual matters. He is also master of his pupil. He teaches the Incarnate Lama the Scriptures, or Buddha's sayings (of which there are 108 volumes), and then the Commentaries (of which there are 225 volumes). The Lobon is with the Incarnate Lama day and night, training him in the mysteries of Lamaism, speaking for him, acting in his stead, prompting him, and keeping him under constant surveillance. In Lamaism beatings of pupils by teachers are common. Even an Incarnate Lama can be beaten by his teacher. But when that happens, the teacher prostrates himself before the student to show there has been no disrespect of the person. And then the student prostrates himself before the teacher, thanking him for the punishment.

The Lobon met us at the entrance to the garden of the In-
carnate Lama's house. He was sixty or more, a learned, devout
man named Ngatun Phuntzog. His full, round face was beaming
as he greeted us. His eyes are deep-set and lively. He has a thin,
silky mustache and a skimpy beard. His voice is a deep guttural.
292 His hair is gray and thin. He wore the heavy dark red gown,
which gave the effect of a bathrobe, the red girdle, and the red
sandals of the lamas of the Red Sect.

000 While Budh Ram and Man Das were sorting the baggage, Rahul and I sat on the porch with Phuntzog. The porch opened on a walled garden green with grass and fringed with poplars. From one side wall a small cataract poured through a pipe, filling the place with music. All else was quiet except for the barking of the chained mastiff.

A dark, swarthy man in his forties, wearing the long, red robe 272 of the lamas, brought *gur gur cha.*[1] His face and head were 792• Mongol. He was barefooted. His black hair was long and unkempt; his skin was dark and grimy; he was the picture of the man who never bathed. In Ladakh, as in Tibet, the monks of a monastery are in various callings—from high priests to gardeners, to cooks, to coolies. This man in lama dress was apparently a novitiate in the monastery who served as a bearer for Phuntzog. He poured [576] the *gur gur cha* in large earthen cups; and as he handed them to us, he held a rag over his mouth (Tibetan fashion) to protect us from any foul breath he might have. The yak butter gave the tea a creamy appearance and a rancid taste. It was not tasty like the *gur gur cha* Rup Singh had made along the trail. It was indeed repulsive, something to which my tongue and stomach took an instant dislike. It was worse than any medicine I had ever taken or dispensed. I gulped half of the cup and had the uneasy feeling that I may have pushed my stomach beyond the point of tolerance. It was touch and go for perhaps a minute. I sat back in my chair, happy only in the thought that I had met the requirements of protocol. But I did not reckon with the eager novitiate who worked from sunrise to bedtime in order to please his master and his master's guests and to get merit in the next life for himself. This man was as quick as a cat and at once took on a sinister aspect. I had no sooner leaned back in the chair, wondering if the bitter liquid would make peace with my stomach, than he filled my cup again.

This time I did not thank him. I may even have given the good man an ugly look. For Rahul broke in with a chuckle and said, "This can go on for hours."

"You mean I must now drink more?"

"Certainly."

"This evil-looking bearer can force a gallon on me?"

"Certainly," said Rahul, laughing out loud.

"How do I stop him, short of insults and assault?"

[1] [A Kind of tea--Analyst]

272 "Just put your hand over your cup."

792 And so I poured another bitter libation into an angry stomach and by sheer will power kept it there. Then I gripped my cup, holding it in a vise and keeping it covered with my hand. Now I was resolved to defend it to the death and to ward off this evil spirit who flitted about like a big bird with a kettle of hot tea in his hand. He *is* a big bird, I thought—a big, Tibetan raven who watches every move of every living thing to see if it is going to drop dead. Dropping dead under the evil influence of rancid yak butter and *gur gur cha* seemed to me the worst of all possible deaths.

792 521 While my battle with the bearer was going on, Rahul and Phuntzog had settled down to a serious conversation. They both spoke Tibetan; but, as is customary, a formal conversation between a high lama and a foreigner is carried on through an interpreter even though the host and guest speak the same tongue. (That is why high Tibetans talk with such low tones.) One of the Indian Army cavalrymen who had brought me my movie film acted as interpreter. Rahul spoke Tibetan to the cavalryman, who in turn spoke Tibetan to our host. When I joined the conversation, the dialogue became more complicated. Phuntzog's reply came back through three persons to me. The jokes I told Rahul ? were heard by Phuntzog twice. Once he laughed out loud both times. But Phuntzog, knowing that protocol required him to hold his laughter until the joke was told him officially, thereafter kept control of himself. At times he would swallow his laughter in his beard. But always his eyes would dance with merriment on the first telling. When the soldier told him the story officially, he would throw back his head in a hearty laugh. This Lobon was a healthy, outgoing person. He enjoyed life and was anxious that those around him share in the enjoyment. He was a relaxed, happy extrovert—an ideal teacher.

792 We talked for perhaps two hours. He told about the founding of Hemis Monastery, the organization of the lamas in the monas-

tery, the lama dances, the Incarnate Lama, and how he was discovered. He told how the Incarnate Lama is first taught the Scriptures—the text of what Buddha said—and then the Commentaries. This religious training is followed by reading, writing, and arithmetic. And when the boy reaches thirteen or fourteen he goes to Lhasa for ten years of indoctrination. Phuntzog, teacher to the present Incarnate Lama, was also teacher, as a young man, to the predecessor Incarnate Lama. 792

From these topics we turned to Communism, to the relation between the monasteries and the people, and to the host of problems of concern to Ladakh and Lamaism in 1951. The Lobon spoke freely and without restraint about all subjects but one. The one on which he froze was the land problem in Ladakh—the extent of the holdings of the monastery, the work of the lama who serves as the business head of Hemis, the system of land tenancy, and the rents which Hemis as landlord collects. On this subject he was silent. 521 [421]

Then, and at other times when there was a pause, I would bring the conversation back to the Incarnate Lama and Phuntzog's role as teacher. Near the end of our conversation, I told him about one of my own great teachers, Harlan Fiske Stone, who was Dean of the Columbia Law School when I enrolled as a first-year student in 1922. I took my first course in law from him, the course in Personal Property. When I graduated from law school, Stone was an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Fourteen years later I joined him there; and in a few years he became Chief Justice. As Chief he presided at our Saturday conferences where all the cases argued during the preceding week were discussd and voted upon. Stone, as is customary with every Chief Justice, stated each case and led the discussion on it. More often than not, Stone and I ended voting together. Sometimes we were on opposite sides of a case. Once when the vote was close, Stone looked down the table at me and said with a twinkle in his eye, "Douglas, I can understand how some of our brethren

CHAPTER 16

AN INCARNATE LAMA

The founder of Hemis Monastery was Stagtsang Raspa, a lama who in the eleventh century came to the nulla where Hemis now stands, looking for a retreat where he could pray and commune. This nulla, narrow, secluded, and quiet, was ideal for his purpose. Willow, poplar, and alder trees shaded it. Clear, cold water poured from springs in bounteous supply. There was solitude broken only by water pouring over rocks, by wind in the trees, and by the harsh churr-churr of the mountain finch. Stagtsang Raspa spent many months in this primitive retreat, trying to make contact with his deity or god-protector (Yidam), who would lead him to the Highest Blessful State. 792 175

The lovely nulla visited by Stagtsang Raspa is no longer the quiet place he knew. It is today filled by a thriving monastery of five hundred lamas who keep the place bustling with energy. And twice a day the canyon is filled with hundreds of deep-throated echoes that seem to come from the bowels of the earth. These are the blasts of twelve-foot horns blown from the roof of the monastery to open the day at 5.30 A.M. and close it at 8 P.M. 534 792

792 tery to open the day at 5:30 A.M. and close it at 8 P.M. The monks of Hemis sometimes follow the example of their founder and go into retreats, taking vows to immure themselves for three years in barren, single-room houses that have no windows, no furnishings, no utilities. Here they sit in prayer and meditation for three long and lonely years. Those who complete the three-year vigil are held in high esteem by monks and laymen alike. Few, however, come out alive because of the rigors of the ordeal. Yet those who start do not turn back, for in the Buddhist world one who violates his vows degrades himself and is held in contempt by the community. Hemis, the first monastery in all of Ladakh, is still an ideal physical setting for a retreat; and over the centuries it has become rich not only in lands and other wealth, but in legends as well.

538 One of these apocryphal tales concerns Jesus. There are those who to this day believe that Jesus visited the place, that he came here when he was fourteen and left when he was twenty-eight, heading west, to be heard of no more. The legend fills in the details, saying that Jesus traveled to Hemis under the name of Issa.

778 This is a land where legends readily grow. Hindus and Buddhists are, of course, not alone in believing that holy men have made certain places sacred. But they have a special theory about the phenomenon. The presence of holy men and the prayers they have recited have created spiritual vibrations that dominate the place. Pilgrims who go there and stay at least three nights can feel these vibrations and thus enrich their psychic and spiritual
776 life. Many places of pilgrimage are common to Hindus and Bud-
778 dhists alike e.g., Mount Kailas and Lake Manasarovar in Tibet. These places usually have a presiding deity and many dozens of demigods. There are said to be about 500,000 deities around Mount Kailas alone. But only the pious can see them. These gods are mountain gods, river gods, tree gods, family gods, field gods, house gods. They are the gods and spirits of the ancient religions on which Buddhism became engrafted. They and Buddhism have

779 This, in barest summary, was the teaching of Buddha; and it
177 became the main religion of India for the four centuries beginning in 300 B.C. Later it became corrupt and in India was supplanted mainly by Hinduism and by the faith of Islam. Buddhism moved south, east, and north. By 243 B.C. it had come to Ladakh and by A.D. 400 was the established religion there. It gradually spread north, going to Tibet about the middle of the seventh century. Meanwhile Buddhism, as Bell in *The Religion of Tibet*[1] shows, had absorbed much of the magic, mythology, rituals, and metaphysics of Lamaism and became clothed in garments that Buddha himself would not have recognized. But the central core of the religion was intact—the "Noble Eightfold Path." And the doctrine of reincarnation, originally derived from Hinduism, continued to flourish.

779 But the doctrine of reincarnation took a special twist in Tibet.
775 In the fifteenth century it was especially adapted to maintain the
792 authority of the priesthood and perpetuate the power of the
177 lamas in a peaceful way. The theory was developed that each Grand Lama was at once reborn in order to resume his life's work. The soul of the deceased lama took possession of a boy born shortly after his death. The problem was to identify the boy, raise him in the faith, keep his power in a regency until his maturity, and then turn over the power to him. The line of authority thus became clear. There was now no longer any contest among ambitious lamas who wanted to be spiritual leader of all Buddhism. The discovery of the baby to whom the soul of the deceased had passed answered all the questions and settled all the quarrels.

By the year 1542 this system had been adopted in Tibet for selection of the Dalai Lama. And it then became the method for determining the succession of spiritual sovereignty throughout the various lower echelons. The head of every monastery became an Incarnate Lama, who was the reincarnation of the holy man who had originally established the monastery. That is what hap-

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[1] [See Source No. 4, AJ1 Tibet AJ1-ANALYST]

pened at Hemis. The boy of eleven with whom we stayed at 792 ●
Hemis is the sixth Incarnate Lama of Hemis, the reincarnation of 775
Stagtsang Raspa, who founded the monastery. And Phuntzog, 779
his teacher, finally told me the secrets of his discovery. 177

The boy is short for a lad of eleven. His face is Mongol—sensi- 792
tive, expressive, with eyes that are quick and alert. His hair is [292]
black and close-cropped. He wears shoes turned up at the end, a dark red robe without sleeves, and a yellow shirt. He came out to greet us as we sat on the porch talking with Phuntzog. Rahul, a devout Buddhist, touched the boy's feet with his hands and gave him the salutation reserved for an Incarnate Lama, "Peace be with Thee, Most Blessed One."

The boy sat for a while and joined in the conversation. But his 792
participation was at a very formal level, as is all his discourse with 159
strangers during the regency. I asked, "What books are you studying now?"

He murmured an answer which was audible only to his Lobon, who then addressed the Rinpoche's answer to us. The boy stood stiffly for a minute or so and then turned and ran into the house. The windows of his room had small panes, which were covered with cloth and isinglass and opened on the porch. Soon I saw one of them swing open and Rinpoche's head come out. As soon as he saw me watching him, he ducked back. Over and again it happened, the Rinpoche peeking as any eleven-year-old would do to see what was going on, who these strangers were, what they wore, and the like. Soon he raced across the porch after a tiny dog, caught up with it, gave it a healthy kick, and then raced back across the porch into the house.

Rinpoche had one intimate playmate, a novitiate in his teens, who came out of the house with the boy. This playmate was a tall, gangling chap with heavy eyebrows and dark, matted hair cut close. His red robe came only to his knees, and the toes of his bare feet looked like talons. Rinpoche gave him an order, and the young man raced into the garden, where Rinpoche's toys were

792 159 scattered on the lawn—a tin airplane, a jumping jack, and a bow and arrow. He came flying back with the airplane, and Rinpoche held it in his hands, rushing about making a noise like a dive bomber. Then he disappeared with his companion, and I did not see him again until Rahul and I were eating our evening meal.

792 346 The house[1] had a central hall that ran its length. My room was on the right as one entered, Rinpoche's on the left. The door to the room was a heavy drape that hung to the floor. My room was unadorned except for a small table, a few chairs, and a carpet. The toilet was in a detached, primitive outhouse in the rear. Rahul and I laid our bedrolls on the floor and unpacked our duffel, and a lama brought hot water in a basin for washing. Another lama brought food from the kitchen. 262 It was an orthodox Buddhist meal, strictly vegetarian in accord with the teaching of the Gautama that no man should kill any man or animal—not [576] even sheep for mutton, cattle for beef, or trout for fish. Our dinner consisted of beans, potatoes, and corn, cooked together in a highly spiced dish, boiled rice, *chapattis*, and *gur gur cha*. And as the grimy lama served us, he held a cloth over his mouth.

792 159 Previously, while we unpacked, I had seen the curtain covering our doorway move. Looking up, I saw Rinpoche disappear. He had been watching us. In a few seconds he peeked again, his eyes wide with excitement as I inflated my air mattress. He disappeared every time I looked at him. Then curiosity got the better of him, and at last he stood inside the room, feasting his eyes on all our equipment. He appeared over and again as we ate the frugal evening meal, his friendly face showing for a brief second in the doorway, his eyes dancing with merriment, as if he were playing a game with us.

792 431 The next morning I paid an official call on Rinpoche to tender him presents. As Lowell Thomas, Jr., describes in *Out of This World*, the customary present that a guest gives his Tibetan host and that a host in turn gives his guest is a white scarf, which signifies the purity of friendship. That is true in Ladakh as well.

[1] [i.e., Hemis Monastery—ANALYST]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The day we left Hemis the Lobon summoned Rahul and me, 792
and as I stood before Rinpoche with outstretched arms, he de- 431
scended from the dais and placed a white silk scarf across them. I then placed the scarf around my neck. The Lobon presented me with a package of tea. The same gifts were presented to Rahul in the same ritual.

I did not, however, have a white scarf (*kathak*) to present. The gift I wanted especially to give was a fishing outfit. I had a fine, steel telescopic rod with a light reel, nylon line and leaders, dry flies, wet flies, and bait hooks. This, I thought, was the ideal gift for a boy, especially a boy who lived in remote Hemis, days and days of travel from the nearest city where such luxuries might be obtained. I inquired of the Lobon if that gift would be fitting. After weighing my question an appropriate minute he said no. Buddha's teaching was not to take life. All life became sacred, the [779]
beasts of the field and the fish of the rivers included. The Lobon thought that if Rinpoche were to be raised in the Buddhist philosophy he should not have a fishing outfit.

"It might tempt him to catch fish," he stated.

"Tempt him?" I said, turning to Rahul. "It would create an irresistible impulse." And so I tendered less disquieting gifts: dried milk, sugar, candies, raisins, plastic spoons, tins of jam, crackers, and, to the special delight of Rinpoche, an air mattress.

It was an interesting and simple ceremony. Rahul and I took off our shoes and entered Rinpoche's room. He was seated on a dais, his back to the window. The Lobon, Phuntzog, sat on cushions below the level of the dais and to the left of the Rinpoche. I presented the gifts one at a time, handing them to the Lobon, who in turn gave them to my host, explaining each time what they were. The little fellow's eyes danced with excitement with each gift; and he was almost beside himself when the air mattress was presented, and at once insisted to the Lobon that he sleep on it that very night.

That afternoon after I had presented my gifts to the Rinpoche 000

Beyond the High Himalayas

792 That afternoon after I had presented my gifts to the Rinpoche
796 the Lobon invited Rahul and me to attend Rinpoche's prayers. Rinpoche has two prayer meetings daily. The lamas of the monastery have three. They are held in the chapel. Rinpoche, during his minority, holds his prayer meetings in his room.

Rahul and I, our shoes off, sat on the floor facing Rinpoche. He was on a dais opposite us, his back to the window. Phuntzog sat on cushions against the wall to the left of Rinpoche. Next to Phuntzog sat two lamas. Against the wall to our left and facing the Lobon was the teen-age acolyte who was the playmate of Rinpoche.

792 A drum about two feet in diameter stood on a pedestal before
796 the Lobon, and attached to the drum were cymbals. A small bowl
534 of corn was at the Lobon's knees. Each of the lamas on his left had a large Tibetan trumpet. The acolyte across the room had a horn shaped like a hunting horn but made of silver. Before each person was a typical Tibetan prayer book—a collection of sheets of paper about six by eighteen inches, unbound, and held between two long, narrow boards.

On a low stand in front of Rinpoche was a gold *dilbu* or bell (female symbol of wisdom); a gold *dorje* or thunderbolt about six inches long, solid in the middle and slightly bulging and open at the ends (male symbol of method); and a feather duster in a holder.

The Lobon played the cymbals and beat the drum with a stick bent in the shape of a huge question mark. The two lamas blew on the trumpets; and the young acolyte tried to outdo them all by vigorous management of the silver hunting horn. The music filled the room with a deafening sound, for the space was small, not more than fourteen by eighteen feet. It was a rather monotonous chant, a simple tune played over and over again for an hour and a half. With the music came the prayers. Sometimes the prayers would cease while the music went on. Sometimes the music would cease while the prayers continued. But for the most part the prayers were read to the accompaniment of the music.

Once in a while Rinpoche would ring the gold bell with his left 792
hand or with his right hand take the feather duster out of its 796
holder and then put it back. Once in a while the Lobon would 534
toss a few grains of corn across the room in front of Rinpoche.

These were incidental. The main effect was in the music and the chanting. It was an almost magical effect. The beating of the drum and the cymbals, the sound of the trumpets and the horn became a primitive exercise and stirred something deep inside me. It seemed that these musicians were trying to call out the devils in all of us. Then came the incantations in pursuit, driving harder and harder, faster and faster, unending in their effort to suppress the evil forces. The voice of the Lobon was deep in bass. His words poured in a mad rush of syllables to form recitations almost unintelligible. On and on he went, supplying greater and greater emphasis. His deep voice rose and fell—rising in supplication, falling to a whisper, mounting to indignation, dropping to humble praise. Over and over again went the refrain.*

There was something at first harsh and repelling in the music. Then the horn and trumpets, though louder than any of the instruments, somehow faded to the background of consciousness. The cymbals, too, seemed to come from afar. The room was dominated by the drum, the rhythmic beating, beating, beating. And with the beating, beating, beating of the drums came the chant of the Lobon—deep and guttural, up and down, sad and plaintive, loud and demanding, soft and pleading.

It was a hypnotic ritual. The words seemed to be meaningless incantations, falling from the lips of the Lobon in indistinct guttural sounds. The words and the drum set up curious vibrations and cast a spell. Many times I have had the experience of being lost in the music of a symphony, carried away on clouds to worlds remote from the hall or library where I sat. This prayer meeting was different. This music and chanting were holding a man, drawing him like a magnet, pulling him into a strange, psychic vortex

*See page 333.

• 792 until he was swallowed by the beatings of the drum and th
796 chanting of the Lobon.

534 I had read Forman, *Through Forbidden Tibet,* and his accoun of how sorcerers one day had conjured up before him and group of lamas Yama, the King of Hell, and the attendants a Yama's court—Lust, Greed, and Anger. Forman with his own eye thought he saw Yama, with his thirty-four arms and nine head and a garland of human skulls about his shoulders. Perhaps h experienced mass hypnotism. Perhaps it was human television.

I had no such experience. But as I sat in Rinpoche's room with my head bowed and my eyes closed, listening to the beating o the drum and the incessant, liquid mutterings of the Lobon, knew at once that hypnotism was real. I felt the power of musi and the human voice and for the first time knew its vast potentiality. Though there was some force fastening itself onto me, I did not try to rebel. For an hour or more I submitted to its decree.

792 *In the name of the Triad! O divine Lord,* Mun!
796 *In the name of the Triad! O Lotus-bearer,* Hun!
529 *In the name of the Triad! O Scepter-bearer,* Hun!

In the name of the Triad! O immortal Being, adoration!
In the name of the Triad! O wrathful Vajra, flame-necked, hu-lu!
    —hu-lu!—hun!—Phat!

In the name of the Triad! Universal Wisdom, adoration!
In the name of the Triad! Ah! Teacher of Supreme Intelligence,
    Holy-one, Hun-hun!

O Mani, Mani, Great Mani, SAKYA-Mani, adoration!
O Lotus-bearer, hun!—*O fierce and greatly angry,* Hun-phat!

O Pleasure, Pleasure, Mighty Pleasure, adoration!
O Intellect, Intellect, Understanding, adoration!
O MAITREYA, Maitreya, Great Maitreya, venerated Maitreya,
    adoration!

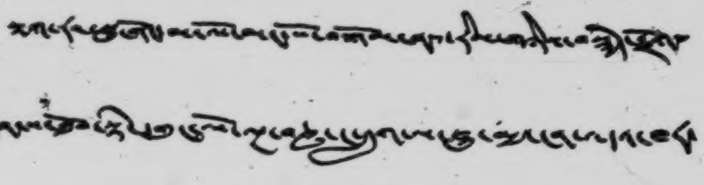
12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans A

[539] 796 792 *O Divine Lord,* Mun! *O Lotus-bearer,* hun! *O Scepter-bearer,* hun!

This was the chant. Over and over, on and on, it went. It had a primitive rhythm, an incessant beat that held me. It was the music of a trance, an incessant repetition whose monotony produced a numbness. The noise of the orchestra filled the room. But it was mostly the Lobon that I heard—the deep, musical bass of Phuntzog. And high above his voice was the piping tenor of Rinpoche, coming lightly along behind the measured beat of his teacher.

After an hour or more I looked up. The chant was still in progress, the drum and cymbals still beating, the horns blaring. The Lobon was bowed in prayer, his lips barely moving as the guttural sound poured out. Rinpoche was as alert as a bird teetering on a rock. He kept up with the chant, his shrill voice now carrying above the Lobon's. As he chanted he weaved slightly to and fro. And all the while he kept peeking out the window where Rup Singh and Budh Ram were standing, watching the ceremony. And Rinpoche seemed to be telling them with his eyes that he hoped to get this business over with soon and come outdoors and join them.

•792 159 The morning of the day we left Hemis I induced Phuntzog to tell me the story of the discovery of the Rinpoche; i.e., how the soul of Stagtsang Raspa was traced to this boy. He went into his room and was gone an hour or more. When he returned, he handed me the following manuscript in Tibetan script which he had prepared; and he recited it on my tape recorder.



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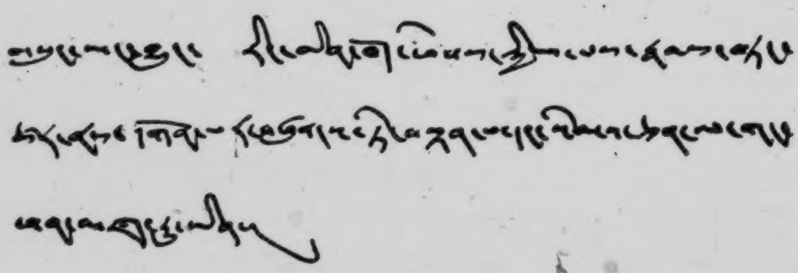

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A free translation of this account is as follows:[1]

"The last Stagtsang Raspa told the senior lamas of his monastery [the Hemis Gonpa], when he was over fifty years old, that he was soon going to leave this world and that they should look for him in his new life after a few years' time somewhere in Tibet. Two years after 'the retiring of Raspa to heavenly fields,' the personal attendant of our Rinpoche and I, Ngatun Phuntzog, visited the Lhasa oracle, who told us vaguely of the rebirth of Raspa to a noblewoman who lived in the middle part of the U province of Tibet, a little to the northeast of Lhasa. After finding the family, we learned that the child Raspa began to say 'Ladakh, Ladakh' soon after he was reborn. The Gelung and I saw a sign on his left wrist which we recognized to be the sign of the watch of our last Rinpoche. We recognized the scar of a boil on the back of his neck and other familiar signs on the person of our Master. And when we told his noble parents that their child was the reincarnated Raspa, whom we had come to take to Ladakh, they gladly agreed to our request. When we returned to Lhasa, the Netchung [the oracle] approved our discovery of our Rinpoche. The Gyawa Rinpoche, the Dalai Lama, blessed the two-year-old Raspa and permitted us to take him out to our monastery in Ladakh. When we returned to Hemis, the present Raspa recognized the main gate of the monastery, the entrance to his personal rooms, etc. We installed him here at the age of six years and have been blissfully happy in the return of our Guru to Hemis." 787 792 159

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[1] [See pp. 161-163 for Tibetan text. -- Analyst]

792 Phuntzog talked at length about the discovery. He said that the
157 soul usually wanders two years before it decides what life to
787 enter. Two years from the date when an Incarnate Lama passes
775 to heavenly fields is, therefore, the critical date. The high lamas of the monastery then go to the oracle at Lhasa and say, "Two years ago on this date, this man retired to the heavenly fields. What life has his soul possessed?"

The oracle then describes the place in general terms. When that place is found, there may be more than one baby boy who fits the description. In that event they have to make a selection. They customarily bring along some of the possessions of the predecessor. They put these on a table and bring the little candidates in. One may touch a watch and say it is his. One may inquire about his favorite hat and describe it or say where it was last hanging. The lamas may question the boys about the events in the life of the predecessor. They keep up the search until they are convinced they have found the child who has been possessed by the soul of the deceased.

I asked why Phuntzog relied so heavily on the scar of the boil and the mark of the wrist-watch band. "They are not there now," I said.

He went on to explain that the predecessor had had a nasty boil on the back of his neck and that a native doctor had burned it off, leaving a deep scar. The mark was unmistakable. The mark of the wrist-watch strap was also plain. The man had seldom removed the watch; and when he did, a lighter-colored strip of skin was plain for all to see.

That was not all. This predecessor had spoken Arabic and English. "Only the other day," Phuntzog said, "Rinpoche, who has had no lessons in Arabic, started speaking it."

"How can that be?" I asked.

"The knowledge of the predecessor is in the boy," he replied. "It has to be revived. Some stimulus has to bring it to consciousness; but it is all there."

As we talked we walked through the vast poplar grove and 792
came to the main monastery building. A lama sat under a tree 159
from morning till night, day after day, reciting his prayers in a 787
singsong way. Our passing did not interrupt him. We climbed to the rooms of the Incarnate Lama—the rooms Rinpoche would occupy when he reached maturity. These were the rooms occupied by the predecessor. His portrait, done in oils, stood on the mantel. Phuntzog turned to me and said, "When Rinpoche first came to Hemis, he asked for his rooms; and when I brought him here he kept pointing out various articles that he recognized."

We walked to the mantel where the oil portrait of the predecessor stood. There was silence for several minutes. Then Phuntzog, turning to me, said, "The resemblance of the Rinpoche is plain, isn't it?"

I nodded, and then I looked to Rahul and saw that he nodded too. And Rinpoche, who had been eying us closely, grinned from ear to ear and, whirling on one foot, dashed out of the room, his little red robe flying.

346 hewn rock and adorned at the top with gold or copper. Sometimes they are merely a memorial in honor of a person of distinction. More often than not they are sepulchers.

764 346 [775] I was told that sometimes the body of the deceased is placed on the ground and a *chhorten* erected over it. That is not customary, for the lamas say that the soul cannot leave the body until the body is destroyed. Cremation is preferred. The ashes are made into an image of the deceased and placed in a *chhorten.* But in Ladakh fuel is scarce. So the bodies are laid out in a special funeral service, and the lamas call the vultures. When the vultures have picked the bones clean, the bones are crushed, sometimes mixed with corn, and fed to the vultures. And the attending lamas stand as witnesses to this celestial funeral, chanting all the while, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

The *chhorten* usually contains some of the ashes or bones of the deceased or cakes made from the ashes of a holy man. They usually guard the entrance of a village or a monastery or an estate. When the departed one is a man of wealth, there will be placed in the *chhorten* an urn that contains (1) wheat, barley, rice, and peas; (2) pearls, coral beads, turquoises; (3) gold, silver, copper, iron; (4) rolls of prayers and holy writings; (5) pieces of juniper and sandalwood–red and white.

788 And when travelers reach the *chhorten,* they keep it on their right, chanting as they go, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

[792] Lamas often have special services in which they walk around *mani* walls and *chhortens.* They walk in single file, with flutes and trumpets blowing. They always walk clockwise around *mani* walls and *chhortens,* and as they walk they chant in unison, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

The prayer wheel is a small cylinder on a stick that is whirled with a twist of the wrist. It has prayers inside, prayers written on cloth or paper. And outside and inside are printed the words, *Om Mani Padme Hoom.* The wheel must always be turned clockwise. I saw my first prayer wheel just over Baralacha Pass as we

the children during his long absences and to maintain a standard 595
of connubial fidelity. So the wife is given protection and com- 182
panionship of extra husbands. Teddy Roosevelt, Jr., who passed through Ladakh about thirty years ago on a hunting expedition, reported in his book, *East of the Sun and West of the Moon*, that polyandry served greatly to ameliorate the lot of the woman in this region. I found no evidence of that. The woman in Ladakh is the work horse of the family. When she marries she takes up the great burden of children, the house, and the fields. Unmarried women are spry, pretty, and gay. Married women are old by thirty. A few years of married life makes them bent and silent and wan. Polyandry, if designed to cater to the woman, has failed in its purpose.

In some regions polyandry may have been designed to cut down 595
the number of babies. The scarcity of food is thought by some to 168
have been the reason for the introduction long ago of the polyandric marriage into a few remote sections of the Kulu Valley. A related reason is sometimes advanced for the introduction of polyandry into Tibet and Ladakh. The view is that it was imported by the lamas as an instrument of control. This region does not produce much food. If the population curve were to go up, there would not be enough food to go around. Population is held in check by reducing the number of wives. That means more food for everyone as fewer babies are born. That means that the monasteries, bulging with food, need not fear a growing discontent among the masses who starve so that the lamas may eat. The purpose, if such it was, is lost in history. But the effect of polyandry is plain. The population of Ladakh has long remained practically stationary; and the food supply of the lamas has in no way been threatened.

Another theory behind polyandry also traces to a purpose that 595
serves the interest of the monasteries. The idea is that if a woman 182
has several husbands there will likely be discontent and rivalry 792
among the men. The wife will have favorites; and there will be

595 some husbands who will not share fully in the connubial bliss.
182 792 They will be apt to turn their backs on marriage and retire to the
monasteries to become lamas.

595 428 All of these reasons[1] may contribute to the invention and spread
of polyandry in Ladakh and Tibet. But the chief reason is the
law of primogeniture. In this region the land, on the death of the
father, passes to the eldest son. That has the advantage of keeping
an estate intact, of preventing it from being pulverized into many
pieces. Otherwise, family units might become so small as to be
[735] uneconomic. Proponents of primogeniture say that if the estates
were pulverized, starvation would be the fate of those who, even
with large farms, barely keep at the subsistence level.

But if all the land goes to the eldest son, the younger ones are cast out and nothing is left for them. New land in this bleak and barren country is not readily had. There are no frontiers where untapped, fertile land can be opened to settlement. And there will be none unless vast irrigation projects are undertaken. There is no industry to which the younger sons can turn. There are precious few trades that will absorb them. The economy is almost exclusively agricultural. The younger sons must look to the land for their livelihood unless perchance they become lamas, or try to develop caravan routes, or leave the country completely.

The problem, therefore, was to keep all the sons on the ancestral plot of ground and yet preserve the old home place as a unit. If each son moved in with a wife, there would probably be trouble. Even if there were no trouble, there would be many babies and an increasing number of mouths to feed.

595 And so several reasons may have combined to build each gen-
eration of sons around one wife. This woman, who became the
wife of the eldest son, became the wife of each of his brothers.
The first-born son—whatever husband be the father—became the
[601] heir. The eldest husband is called Father; each of his brothers is
called Little Father. In the eyes of the law, each has equal access
to the wife and she has equal obligations to all the brothers. In

[1] [See p.179 -- ANALYST]

101 inent people say that if the Kashmir dispute were resolved in
175 Pakistan's favor Ladakh would forsake India and rejoin Tibet.
631 Ladakh has long been called Little Tibet; but it never was, strictly speaking, a Tibetan province. Commercially it had ties with Yarkand and Kashmir. Religiously it had ties to the Dalai Lama, to whom Ladakh sent an annual tribute. And thus it was politically allied to Tibet. But it was, in fact, an independent principality under a mild despotism.

175 It[1] was ruled by a king who did little but collect revenues and
645 sit in contemplation as a Buddhist prince. The Prime Minister was the administrative officer. His position was almost hereditary, staying in one family for years. Ladakh had a nobility made up of petty chiefs, each of whom had dominion over a valley or region. There were eight of these, one of them being Gya, where we stayed.

• 792 The early kings and nobles were patrons of the lamas and gave
425 them grants of land. That was the beginning of the wealth of the
556 monasteries. Wealth begat wealth; the rich became richer. Revenues were used to acquire new farming lands. Pious men presented monasteries with lands. Farmers who had no sons left their wealth to the church when they died. The economic power of the monasteries grew and grew.

792 This hold of the monasteries on Ladakh goes back to a political
175 maneuver by the secular power. About the seventh century the
668 kings of Ladakh and Tibet used Lamaism to circumvent the
631 feudal powers of local nobles. This region was a large collection of separate political oases ruled over by local families. The early kings used the church to tie all these communities together. The church, in other words, became the unifying power, growing larger and larger and becoming a continuous force until eventually it superseded not only the local nobles but the secular kings themselves. No secular power arose to displace the church for several reasons. The communities were widely dispersed; the communication between them was difficult; there were no large, local units

[1] [Ladakh -- Analyst]

that could dominate the rest. And so monastic Buddhism united 792 175
social and political groups, isolated from each other, into one 668
common community. That is the essential unity of Ladakh and 631
Tibet today.

One Tibetan king tried in the tenth century to oust the church, [185]
but he failed. His name was Langdharma. He is known in lama tradition today as the incarnation of wickedness.

It was not always easy going for the monasteries. In the middle 792
of the sixteenth century Moslems swept down from the northwest; 175
and again about A.D. 1600 they invaded from the west. They 798
destroyed monasteries and threw the libraries into the Indus. The Moslem rule was short-lived. The monasteries shortly regained their position. In the Great Mongol War of 1646–47 the 721
Maharajah of Kashmir, whose troops were in command of the 175
brave Wazir Zorawar, annexed Ladakh to India. About 1834 798
General Zorawar Singh, acting for the Rajah of Jammu, again 631
conquered Ladakh for India, driving before him into Tibet about nine thousand lamas or three quarters of the monks of the monasteries. Singh moved on to Tibet and in 1841 was defeated by the Chinese, who swept down to Leh and held it for a few weeks. But they were driven out by Moslems; and, ever since, Ladakh has been politically a part of Kashmir. But in 1951 and 1952 Ladakh was insisting that it be a federated state in Kashmir, having the same relation to Kashmir as Kashmir has to India. In that way Ladakh would retain home rule.

Ladakh still has a king. I met him at Leh. He is a slight, wiry 643
chap in his twenties and at present is an officer in the Indian Army. He still has a palace; he is still king in name; and his wife, the Queen owns the most beautiful, the most expensive *perakh* in Ladakh. But their titles and rank are titular only and have been for a century.

The lands are rented by the monasteries under various tenancy 423
systems: 427

(1) The landlord furnishes the seed and gets in return three

423 times the seed (the average yield for Ladakh is ten to one, the
427 return on the best land being twenty to one, the return on the
poorest, five to one).

(2) The landlord furnishes the seed and gets 50 per cent of the crop.

(3) The tenant furnishes the seed, labor, work animals, and water and pays the landlord 50 per cent of the crop.

(4) The landlord gets five rupees (about one dollar) for every two *kanals* (one *kanal* equals one sixteenth acre) of land, the rent being paid in cash or crops.

This fourth method is now the most common one; and whether the monastery collects cash or crops depends on the deal made with the individual farmer.

426 Loans and usury cut down the tenant's share considerably. Historically, a landlord advancing eighty-two rupees gets twenty rupees in interest. Professional moneylenders used to charge as much if not more. The stories of usurious interest in Ladakh and Tibet would make even our avaricious loan sharks wince.

• 792 The monasteries have done their share of exploitation, but their
426 management of agricultural credit has usually been more humane
452 than that of other creditors. If a debtor was hopelessly involved,
the monastery would take over one half of the land for three years. If the debt was not liquidated in that period, the land would be restored to the debtor and the debt written off. Monasteries seldom allowed land to be alienated permanently for debt. Their credit system bore heavily on tenant and landowner alike. But relatively speaking, the monastery did not exploit the farmer through avaricious practices.

426 The liberal Kashmir government has adopted corrective meas-
452 ures for all agricultural credit. Kashmir now has a debtor's relief
671 act designed to discharge extortionate debts and to provide repay-
657 ments in convenient installments. It is now the law of Kashmir that
no landlord can charge any interest on a loan to his tenant. And moneylenders today are restricted by law to 5 per cent on their LOANS.

425 not distributed the landholdings of the monasteries. Though some twenty thousand acres were taken from twenty-four landlords in the vicinity of Leh, as I have said, nine thousand acres, belonging to the monasteries, were left untouched.

671 The truth is that the Kashmir law excepts these holdings from
423 its operation. In the case of the King of Ladakh, the exception is
• 792 not important, for his holdings are not great. He probably was
425 excluded because the monasteries all around his estate were excluded. The monasteries were excluded because the power of the lamas is so great that the government did not deem it expedient to disturb the status quo.

I heard various versions of that decision. One official in Leh said to me, "If a monastery has five hundred lamas, in fairness each lama would be entitled to 182 *kanals* on a redistribution of the land. That would at times result in an increase in the holdings of the monastery."

Another official had a different view: "If the lands are taken from the monasteries, who will support them?" he asked. He went on to explain that, while the monasteries collect some funds from the people, these funds are inadequate for the support of the lamas. The people are poor and can give very little. What they do give are small sums on festival days, on marriages, and the like. There is no sustaining congregation as we know it. The monasteries are utterly dependent on the land for their support.

This official added, "If the lands are taken from the monasteries, then the government must support the monasteries. That would be bad."

"Because church and state should be separate?" I asked.

"No. Because the government could not afford to maintain the monasteries."

792 The bald truth is that the lamas are a powerful political force. The position of the lamas is strong. If A were running against B for public office and the lamas sent word down that B was hostile to the church, there is no doubt A would be elected.

This hold of the lamas on the people does not result from the 792
organized activities of the church. There are few schools for chil- [871]
dren run by the monasteries. The monasteries have instruction
in philosophy, astronomy, literature, and religion. But that in-
struction is for the lamas, not the laymen. Children are not taken
under the wing and indoctrinated. The monasteries do not exert [143]
a power over the people through hospitals, medical care, homes
for the aged, and the like. They render no community service,
except as they send lamas to a home to pray by the bedside of a
sick person, to conduct a funeral service, or to perform a marriage
ceremony.

They hold their people by fears and superstitions and poverty. Their paraphernalia are numerous. The *mani* walls, the *chhortens*, and the *obos* are perpetual reminders to every sojourner in this region of his religious duties, of the spirits that haunt the trails, of the dangers which transgressions bring. There is the Tibetan proverb that "without a lama in front there is no approach to God." The lama is the person who has command over the spirit world, who can drive away the evil forces, who can interest the good deities in the welfare of the people. The lama has contacts with the other world. He has the wisdom and the power of the land. He can conjure up even Yama, the King of Hell, and all his demons. He can produce Yama in the flesh for all to see.

The whole weight of tradition is behind Lamaism and its 212
power. The native Ladakhi, like the Tibetan, is illiterate. He can
neither read nor write. He has no radio to listen to the news of
the world. There are in all of Ladakh not over three radios. [207]

The native, filled with fears and superstitions, gets his learning 871
in part from paintings. The word "painter" means literally the 532
"writer of gods." Ladakhi and Tibetan painting is the equivalent 869
of a language where one can see in anthropomorphic form the
virtues such as Mercy and Chastity and the vices such as Lust,
Anger, and Greed. The colors, postures, and gestures of the fig-
ures all express ideas. The peasant, who lives in a world dimly

871 lighted and full of scheming devils, learns about the paintings
532 from the lamas. He first learns of devils and demons from the lips
869 of his parents when he is a babe, from the stories his elders tell as he grows up, from the legends of pass poison, evil demons, revengeful gods that men in the caravans relate. And when he goes to the monasteries, the stories he has heard at home are confirmed. The lamas put on their dances and out come Lust, Anger, and Greed in person. Even the most stupid person can see them in all their ugliness. Thus are the natives indoctrinated with fears and superstitions. The devils are always present; they are a factor never forgotten in the daily life of the Ladakhis. A Ladakhi burns incense to sanctify his house. He spins his prayer wheel and observes the ritual of the *mani* walls and *chhortens*. And to gain religious merit, he goes on a pilgrimage, sometimes to India proper, in search of the river of mystery in the fashion of the lama immortalized by Kipling's *Kim*.

• 792 Rahul, devout Buddhist and a prominent layman in the church,
876 made a speech a year or so ago saying the monasteries should become educational centers, bringing in the children from the surrounding areas and teaching them. The wrath of the lamas descended on Rahul. He was severely taken to task.

"Why?" I ventured to ask.

"Because the power of the lamas is in part due to the ignorance of the people," Rahul answered. "That is the reason why Tibet has been the forbidden land. The lamas do not want ideas from the outside world to reach their people. Ideas, you know, can be disturbing."

That is why travel of foreigners throughout the whole area was long restricted. That is why lamas, fearful of the importation of ideas, would sometimes turn bandits loose on travelers. That is why, even today, the educational activities of monasteries—apart from their perpetuation of superstition—are practically nil.

792 Lamaism has a vested interest not only in the ignorance of the people but in their poverty as well. Poverty and ignorance, in

fact, go hand in hand. Poverty is indeed the main instrument for 792
promoting and perpetuating ignorance.

Each monastery has not only a spiritual head (the *skushok*),
but also a managerial head (the *chhagzot*), and a treasurer (the
konyer). There are two classes of monks—the praying monks and
the working monks. The working monks are under the *chhagzot*
and the *konyer*. The *chhagzot* is usually a lama whose main job 792
is to supervise the making of leases of the farmlands and their 426
cultivation, and to collect the rents. He usually rides the biggest,
whitest horse in the region. When he or the lama who represents
him comes to a village to collect the rents, he brings with him
more than the usual power and prestige of the landlord. He also
brings the power and prestige of the church. He is the holy man
to whom all allegiance is owed. He is the one who holds the
tenant in the palm of his hand. He may, in appearance, be a
kindly man. But as a symbol he has a terrifying importance. Since
he is under a mandate to keep the people poor, he can in good
conscience exact the pound of flesh. And they—poor, miserable,
whimpering villagers—can only bow in submission.

These Ladakhis are poor people—poor in the strictest sense in 735
which we use the word. They get some income from sheep, goats, 511
and yaks. But the bulk of their livelihood is from agriculture.
They are on a bare subsistence level. They commonly work per
family only a few acres. Their diet has very little meat in it. The [262]
Rupshupa, whom I saw at Zara, eat milk, cheese, and meat, supplemented
by barley that they get in barter for wool. But they are
the exceptions. The rest are, for the most part, vegetarians. They
eat barley and wheat cakes (*chapattis*), the broth of turnips with
some peas in it, baked barley flour (*sattu*), fruits in season (apples,
grapes, apricots), and *gur gur cha*. They have one escape
from the monotony of life—apart from the festivals at the monasteries.
That escape is through *chan*—a local beer, made from wheat
and barley, that looks like dirty gruel and smells like stale beer.

The Rupshupa, now that the price of wool is high, may have

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a grandmother, two small boys, a teen-age girl. I asked to get 511 their pictures in several different groupings. Jigmet directed them 735 to comply. After each picture, Jigmet came up and, with outstretched hand, said, "Bakshish" (an Arabic word meaning a tip, which the British introduced to Ladakh). Each time I gave him or the wife or the children something—candy, cigarettes, salt. The picture taking took a half hour or so. Jigmet and the family then left. When Rahul and I were eating dinner, Jigmet reappeared. He sat silently watching us for ten minutes or so. Then he got up, held out his hand, and said, "Bakshish." I gave him some more cigarettes. At the crack of dawn he was back, saying, "Bakshish." He followed me around as I took pictures of Upshi and its people.

I worked my way through his fields of beardless barley to get pictures of the Indus River, about a quarter mile distant. Every few yards, Jigmet, who followed me closely, pleaded, "Bakshish." That word came so frequently that it rang in my ears. By the time I had returned to the house, loaded my cameras, and started to leave, Jigmet had increased the frequency of the request. "Bakshish, bakshish, bakshish" came like a chant. I had paid him well for the lodgings. I did not know what the proprieties were. Rahul said I had paid enough; so did the Indian Army officer who was traveling with us from Pagmur to Leh.

I walked up to Jigmet and held out my hand to say good-by. He did not put out his hand but said, "If there is no bakshish, there is no use shaking hands."

I took his hand anyway and gave it a firm squeeze, saying, "This is the way we do it in America. Friendship is more important than bakshish."

Jigmet stood disconsolate as I rode off on Moti. Though Jigmet, 511 by Ladakhi peasant standards, was well off, he had not more than 735 ten dollars a year cash income. All who lived around him were 792 much poorer than he, held in a vicious serfdom under the monasteries. It was his duty to feed and care for every lama who went

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772 by. It was only the occasional stranger who offered him any possible opportunity to make a cash profit.

[642]
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522 The poverty and ignorance in which the lamas hold the people of this region mean that the lamas are supreme in temporal as well as in spiritual matters. There is no revolt, not even any apparent resentment. Yet people are people the world around; and the Ladakhis show their resentment in simple, innocuous ways. It is in the form of making fun of the lamas. And one of the most dramatic ways is in the singing of a famous Ladakhi folk song.

[291] The women of Gya sang it for me. A dozen or more stood in line, close together. They were dressed in their conventional long black wool dresses. Most of them had on the picturesque *perakh*,[1] and the large black wool earpieces that stood out like sails from their heads. Most of them wore sheepskins over their shoulders—the skin that serves as a ground covering at night, a protection against rain by day, and a shield for the carrying of loads on the back. They were giggling as they started to sing; and the giggles interfered with the song until at last they finally settled to a serious rendition. The song is a take-off on a man accused of being a lama. The man's name is Tashiwangyal, and he is the singer.

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Don't think I have no father;[1]
My father's caste is bright like sandalwood.[2]
Don't think I have no mother;
I'm like the guitar made out of the reindeer skin.[3]
Don't think I have no tongue;
I'm like the cord made of the inner skin of the goat.[4]
Don't think I am a lama;
Thang Thang Gyalpo is my lama.[5][*]

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[1] A lama is supposed to renounce his father and mother.
[2] He is, in other words, spotless.
[3] He's made of proper stuff.
[4] This skin has a fine texture.
[5] He was a very superior man who built a lot of monasteries.
[*] See page 334.

1 [Headdress of older women -- Analyst]

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As the women sang, they bent over until their backs were almost 578
parallel to the ground. They shook their fingers at an imaginary 522
figure at their feet as if they were scolding. As they 792
pretended to scold, they swayed back and forth. And as they sang and swayed, their eyes danced with merriment. For now they were making fun of their lord and master—the one who owns their souls, their houses, their menfolk, their babies, their fields—the big rich monastery that sits like a castle on the hill.

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208 method of communication with the world. Tibet, therefore, since
A.D. 1700, has been largely a pawn in Chinese politics.

648 In the last two hundred years, China has sent several punitive
175 armies into Tibet. They were sent to control obstreperous Dalai
• 792 Lamas who were becoming too independent, who were not bending to the will of Peking. The Chinese in the period of suzerainty have thrown some Dalai Lamas in jail. They have had some Dalai Lamas murdered. The Chinese saw to it that a whole series of Dalai Lamas never lived beyond eighteen years. There was a reason for this. A Dalai Lama, while in his minority, is under a regent. The authority is then in the regent, as the authority at Hemis is in Phuntzog until Rinpoche reaches maturity. The Chinese have played politics in Tibet for centuries by murdering one Dalai Lama and appointing the regent of his successor. Through control of the regent they have kept control of Tibet.

648 At times the Chinese have overplayed their hands. In 1839 the
175 Chinese Ambassador to Tibet condemned a lama-regent to exile.
721 Fifteen thousand lamas of the Sera Monastery near Lhasa armed
792 themselves with lances and clubs and marched into the capital looking for the Chinese Ambassador. In 1917 the Tibetan Army, under command of a lama, was attacked by the Chinese Army. The lama general won the battle and took from the Chinese a territory larger than all of England.

648 But the Chinese have, for the most part, maintained effective
175 control in Tibet. And no device has helped them more than the
787 doctrine of reincarnation. The doctrine of reincarnation has been
792 more of a political than a divine institution. Under Lamaism the church was the effective instrument for control of the country. Native Tibetan control of the internal affairs of Tibet kept the church in the hands of the rich and powerful families. The Manchus saw the doctrine of reincarnation as the way of breaking that control. The method of tracing the soul of the deceased to a newborn babe had all the trappings of a mystic, impersonalized procedure. But the key man was the oracle who told the

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lamas where to look. The Manchus saw to it that the oracle 648
directed the search into poor and insignificant families. By select- 775
ing the Dalai Lama from new and different groups, the church 787
got popular support; it got the blessing of those who preached 792•
democratic principles. But that was not the aim. The aim and the effect were to destroy the old dynastic power. This process was capable of endless manipulation to arrest tribal alliances, to awaken new regional loyalties, to shift the center of political favor. The Chinese used it to the limit. The general formula developed by the Chinese to control the selection is described in Bell, *The Religion of Tibet.*

The story of the discovery of the present Dalai Lama is beauti- 792
fully related in Steele, "The Boy Ruler of Shangri-La," in the 159
Saturday Evening Post for April 13, 1946.

". . . When the thirteenth Dalai Lama died in 1933, at the unusually advanced age of fifty-four—several Dalai Lamas have died very young under mysterious circumstances—the machinery of magic and tradition was put into motion to find his successor. It was not until two years later that the lucky infant was born in a squalid peasant shack in Northeastern Tibet. Neighbors remember now that there was a rainbow over the house on the day of the birth, but nobody realized then the full significance of that heavenly sign. In fact, the boy was already four years old when he was finally found, identified and formally installed on the gilded throne of Tibet. It happened like this:

"Searching for the right baby boy from among thousands born 787
after the thirteenth Dalai Lama's passing, the high priests of 792
Lhasa sought continuous guidance from their gods. They con- 159
sulted the state oracle—a jovial monk whose prophecies fre- 775
quently influence government policies. The oracle, while in a trance, pointed eastward. There were other signs to indicate that the new Dalai Lama would be found somewhere in Eastern Tibet. Twice, during successive nights, the body of the late Grand Lama, lying in state in the Potala, was alleged to have

787 turned slightly toward the east. A strange, many-fingered fungus
● 792 sprang overnight from the east side of this dignitary's new, gold-
159 encrusted tomb. The odd growth is still preserved where it ap-
775 peared. It is enclosed today in a glass case.

"Next the regent and his wise men visited a sacred lake near Lhasa. In its waters they discerned the image of a three-storied, gold-roofed temple and other mystic signs. The rippling image was easily identified as that of a famous temple in Kumbum Monastery, two months' caravan travel away in Northeastern Tibet. They knew, then, that the boy Dalai Lama would be found somewhere in the vicinity of that monastery. A delegation was dispatched to Kumbum to make the final choice from among three infant candidates in that region. The priestly emissaries entered the house of the humble peasant Chog Chu Tsering, whose young son had shown 'supernatural' manifestations. Before him they laid a number of articles which had belonged to the late Dalai Lama, along with several exact imitations. This was the critical test. There was hushed tension as the infant fondled his new playthings. After momentary hesitation, he picked up a cane and a couple of necklaces. They were the genuine articles. The boy had passed. He had demonstrated his affinity with the defunct priest king. Here was the new Dalai Lama. Whatever doubt remained was dispelled when bodily examination revealed three of the five physical signs associated with the incarnated divinity Chenrezi. It took nearly a year of negotiation and payment of vast gratuities to extricate the child from the jurisdiction of the Chinese and Tibetan authorities in his home district."

The possibilities for manipulation of this doctrine within the framework of Lamaism are innumerable.

648 The Chinese have used not only the machinery of Lamaism in
792 this manipulation; they have used mechanical devices as well. At
775 times they have given the appearance of objectivity by the dis-
covery of several competing candidates for the office of Dalai
Lama. Then they put the names of the three candidates on sepa-

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rate pieces of paper, wrapped each one in a piece of dough, put 648
the three in a wheel or drum, and whirled it. Out pops one; and 792 •
the man whose name is in the capsule is the Dalai Lama. How 775
they controlled the wheel so that the name of the candidate they preferred popped out is a mystery. But I learned from my early days with a carnival in this country that such mysteries are not profound. I am sure this one is not above the reach of the average pitch man.

The Chinese made the process easier to manipulate. In 1793 a golden urn was sent from China. The names of the boys who were likely candidates for the reincarnation were placed in the urn. Religious services were held, and then chopsticks were used to pick out one slip of paper. Manipulation within that scheme of things was a simple affair.

The Chinese have gone so far in their manipulation of the doctrine of reincarnation as to prohibit rebirth of a person deemed inimical to the welfare of the state. In 1882 Sing Chen helped a foreigner into Tibet and allowed him to visit Lhasa. The Chinese were displeased. They put Sing Chen to death and forbade him to reincarnate. Thus, long before the Communists came to control in China, the Chinese authorities used the doctrine of reincarnation to serve their ends and to perpetuate their authority.

The Chinese have used the Panchen Lama to further their 648
cause of subjecting Tibet. The Panchen Lama is second to the 792
Dalai Lama. But in some respects—too recondite for me to under- 642
stand—the Panchen Lama is "holier" than the Dalai Lama. He is a political invention of the fifteenth century—not an invention of the Chinese but of the ecclesiastical authorities who, on the growth of the political power of northern Tibet, created the Panchen Lama as the symbol of the north. But the south won out and the Dalai Lama remained supreme. Yet the Panchen Lama became a divisive influence in Buddhist ecclesiastical affairs.

The Panchen Lama has a large area of his own in Tibet over which he has control. His district is Tsang Province, where he

648 exercises almost complete jurisdiction both in ecclesiastical and
•792 in temporal affairs. This region is his fief, and he is the supreme
642 overlord.

In recent years, the Chinese have capitalized on this strategic position of the Panchen Lama. The previous Panchen Lama in 1924 quarreled with the Dalai Lama and left Lhasa for China. He stayed there until his death in 1937. Then the Chinese, in control of the selection of his predecessor, chose the present Panchen Lama. Up to August 1951, this Panchen Lama had never left China, had never been in Lhasa. But he, the second-in-command, sat in China urging the Tibetans to make peace with Red China, pleading with them to submit to the "liberation" program which the Communists designed for Tibet.

648 The objective of the Chinese Communist government in the
792 summer of 1951 was to get the Dalai Lama under its control. He had become alarmed at the threat of the Red Army to Tibet. So he fled Lhasa, going with his entourage to Yatung, a small monastic town near Mount Everest on the Tibetan-Indian border. I had letters to the Dalai Lama and had arranged to visit him there. But before I arrived, a train of events had changed the course of history and sent the Dalai Lama north, a virtual captive of Red China.

The family of the Dalai Lama and many influential people in the hierarchy pleaded with him not to return to Lhasa. They pointed out that if he did, he would be a ready victim of Communist intrigue. The Communists would work to liquidate the system of landlordism on which the monasteries depended. The Communists would appropriate the wealth of Tibet to their own ends, robbing the church. The Communists would undercut the authority of the Dalai Lama, making him a mere vassal. The Communists would make the monasteries dependent on them for financial support; and once the Communists got effective control, the Dalai Lama and all other lamas would be mere puppets of the Red regime. There were personal reasons as well on the side of leaving Tibet. The Dalai Lama's mother had left Tibet. The

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Chinese sent his brother to Yatung to persuade the Dalai Lama to 648
return to Lhasa. The brother passed through Yatung, crossed to 792 •
India, and caught a plane to the United States. The weight of family influence was on the side of quitting Tibet.

These were the arguments of friends of the Dalai Lama who wanted him to quit Tibet and go to India. There were other arguments I was carrying to Yatung to present as forcefully as possible to the Dalai Lama. There is reason to believe that the Dalai Lama understood this point of view and was sympathetic with it. There is reason to think that if he had his real choice he would have left Tibet.

But the arguments advanced against that move were powerful ones. The Chinese, who had sent a large delegation to Yatung to negotiate with the Dalai Lama, had talking points. First, it was intimated that the Dalai Lama was not the true reincarnation, that he was an impostor, that the Chinese had found the true reincarnation and were ready to install him. Second, the Panchen Lama, long a rival of the Dalai Lama, had been "discovered" by the Chinese, was pro-Chinese in his attitude, and was ready to acquit himself properly should the Dalai Lama refuse to return. Third, Lhasa had long been the religious capital of the Buddhist world. It is to Buddhists what Rome is to Catholics. The great weight of sentiment was for the Dalai Lama to return to the ancient capital, even though it would now be enveloped in a hostile atmosphere. Fourth, many Buddhists thought that if the Dalai Lama returned he might be able to unify the lamas against the Communist influence and present a solid front against Communist infiltration of Lamaism. Fifth, lamas came down from remote monasteries with pleas that the Dalai Lama should not leave the country. These pilgrimages may have been inspired by the Communists. But the thousands of lamas who appeared were doubtless sincere in their requests. When word spread in Yatung that the Dalai Lama was planning to fly out of Yatung and go to India, the lamas lay down on the airport. Hundreds and hundreds

148 792 of them stayed there for days, making it impossible for a plane to land or take off. Other lamas manned the passes leading south to India.

[787] After weeks of debate and indecision, the Dalai Lama was still uncertain. The Chinese suggested he consult the oracle. The oracle in turn suggested that he decide by lot. Accordingly, the Chinese took two pieces of paper and wrote on one "To Lhasa" and on the other "To India." They rolled these in dough, put them in a wheel, and whirled the wheel. Out popped one capsule. It was opened in the presence of the Dalai Lama. It read "To Lhasa." That decided it. The fates had decreed the Dalai Lama should return to Lhasa. Chinese manipulation had once more carried the day.

On August 17, 1951, the Dalai Lama re-entered Lhasa. Immediately thereafter the Red Chinese "liberation" army raced across Tibet and occupied key posts along the Tibetan-Indian border. On August 17 I was in Leh. That night I had dinner at the three-hundred-year-old Sankar Monastery, a mile or so north of Leh, with Kaushak Bakula, Rinpoche of Spitok. Bakula is a Yellow Sect lama whose soul has been traced back beyond Buddha. Bakula is an important man in the Buddhist world. He is head of the Yellow Sect in Ladakh.

795 178 792 The Yellow Sect came into Buddhism as a reform sect. Its leader was Tsongkapa (the man from Onion Land), who hailed from Amdo, a Tibetan province bordering on northwest China. (This is the province from which the present Panchen Lama comes.) Tsongkapa died in 1419 after having cleansed Lamaism of some of its corruptness. Among other things, Tsongkapa introduced celibacy to the priesthood. It was from Tsongkapa that the practice of reincarnation in Buddhism stems. The second and the third reincarnation of Tsongkapa became heads of the Yellow Sect. But they had spiritual power only. The third of these extended the influence of the Yellow Sect to Mongolia and China. And it was the strength of the Yellow Hats in Mongolia that

eventually led to the combination of both spiritual and temporal 795
power in the Dalai Lama. The Yellow Hats met with reverses in 178
Tibet. The Sakya, or Red Hats, were in favor with the King. The 792
Yellow Sect was losing its political support. But in Mongolia the
Yellow Sect was supreme. The fifth Dalai Lama conspired with 642
Gusri, King of Mongolia, in the seventeenth century for Gusri 795
to invade Tibet. Gusri conquered Tibet and made Tibet over to 178
the fifth Dalai Lama (actually Talai Lama, meaning Great like 792
Ocean). Since that time, the Dalai Lama has had both the spiritual and temporal power in Tibet—an autocratic power that probably no other nation in the modern world has known. Each succeeding Dalai Lama has been a Yellow Hat. And the theory evolved that Tsongkapa, founder of the Yellow Sect, was the reincarnation of the first national King of Tibet and that the latter was the reincarnation of Chenrezi, the Tibetan deity who is the Lord of Mercy. The temporal power of the Dalai Lama was thus traced back to temporal sources of power.

The Dalai Lama exercises his temporal power. Half of the 647
regular civil service of Tibet are lamas, half laymen. The govern- 792
ment posts are usually held by two or three men—a lama and a layman, two lamas and one layman, one lama and two laymen. There usually is no division of work; they are colleagues who act jointly; they are used as checks on each other.

That night at the Sankar Monastery we talked of these things. 574
We talked of the great possibilities of Communist control of this 792
highly centralized spiritual and temporal power. As we talked, we sat cross-legged on the floor in Bakula's room.

We had come to Sankar at night through rocky lanes that wound across vast barley fields. Lamas met us with torches at the high front steps of the monastery. They bowed low in greeting and then scampered ahead as they led the way through a labyrinth of dark hallways. We climbed rough, stone steps; we passed through stone corridors where the flares cast weird shadows; we stooped low to enter doorways; we passed through dark rooms,

574 close with stale air; and finally we emerged into a room of abun-
792 dant light. Bakula was there to greet us. His dais was against one wall, raised about two feet from the floor. Against another wall was a bookcase behind whose glass doors I could see beautiful Buddhas, exquisitely bound books, colorful idols. Bakula sat opposite us on a cushion. In front of each of us was a small table. Bakula's table was higher than mine; mine was higher than Rahul's. Thus were the requirements of protocol met. A barefoot, scraggy lama appeared and placed food before us. There were many vegetables, all highly seasoned except the boiled rice. Bakula did not eat. He has but two meals a day, morning and noon. He did not even participate in the dessert—fresh apricots and tea. But while we ate, he talked. And most of the talk concerned Communism.

000 Bakula is short and wiry with deep-set eyes, high forehead, and a sharp-beaked nose. He is a quiet, introspective, scholar type of man in his early thirties. Bakula is a *geshes*—a professor of the University of Lhasa, where he spent twelve years poring over ecclesiastical texts. He seems to be the born teacher. But these days he is in active politics. He is a member of the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir and greatly concerned with the necessities of social reform in Ladakh. These days Bakula gives a great deal of his time to public and secular activities. He is learned in worldly affairs as well as in the Scriptures. He has studied Communism and knows the way Soviet imperialism uses it to extend its domain. He knows its history and understands its techniques. He has learned how Communism operates, the fronts it uses, the propaganda it spreads, the frictions it seeks to develop between rich and poor, its hatred and suspicion of the church, the system of terror it employs to advance its ends.

Bakula wanted to know about Communism in the United States, its strength in the labor movement, its placement in government, its power in the Army and Navy, the number of its adherents. He wanted also to know how strong Communism was

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growing in Europe and in the Middle East. His questions ranged far and wide and were penetrating in their reach. 000

I turned the discussion back to Ladakh and Tibet and the Buddhist world. 208

"What is the nature of Communist propaganda in Ladakh?" I asked.

"There is none," Bakula replied.

"No radio programs beamed to Ladakh?"

"There are not more than three radios in all of Ladakh."

"No literature distributed?"

"None."

"No agents nor provocateurs operating for the Communist cause?"

"None."

"No members of the Communist party in Ladakh?"

"Not a single one."

I was amazed at these statements. In most of the countries I had traveled in Asia and the Middle East, the Communists were extremely active—stirring discontent, exploiting popular causes, using democratic slogans, posing as the champions of the oppressed. To find an area where no Communists were busy or involved was a great surprise. I asked Bakula how he explained it.

"The Communist strategy in the Buddhist world is first to get 648
control of the church. That requires not propaganda but control 792 ●
of the ecclesiastical hierarchy," he said.

"They have control of the Panchen Lama?"

"Yes, he is a Chinese sympathizer."

"They now have control of the Dalai Lama?"

Bakula was deep in thought for several minutes.

"No one knows what will happen," he finally replied. "All I can tell you is what I think will happen."

"What is your guess?"

He went on to describe the temporal as well as the spiritual power that is in the hands of the Dalai Lama. It is this temporal

148 792 power that the Communists will try to get.[1] Perhaps they can get it, not by disturbing the form of the arrangements but by controlling the laymen and lamas appointed to the positions of authority. Such a move would result in changes almost imperceptible but nonetheless destructive of the Dalai Lama's temporal power. The Communists would then be in a position to exploit the differences between rich and poor, to breed discontent among the masses, to appropriate the wealth of the monasteries.

"Is that your prediction?" I asked.

"The Communists will use every means to get control of the wealth of the monasteries. My fear is that they will succeed."

"What will happen then?"

"The monasteries will then become so poor that they cannot carry on their work, or they will become dependent on the Communist government for their financial support."

"And in either case, become subservient to Communist influence?"

"Exactly."

"But that would affect only Tibet. What about Ladakh?"

"The Dalai Lama is the spiritual head of the Mahayan school of Buddhism, which embraces China, Japan, Mongolia, Nepal, Tibet, Ladakh, Bhutan, Lahul, Sikkim, and Spiti. Buddhists in these countries look to him as Catholics look to the Pope in Rome. If the Communists control the Dalai Lama, they are in a fair way of controlling that part of the Buddhist world."

These were the worries and concerns of Bakula. These are the worries and concerns of those who know the Buddhist world.

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[1] One of the latest moves by the Communists in Tibet to dilute the temporal power of the Dalai Lama and to decentralize the authority of Lhasa over Tibet is the creation of an administrative council composed of the Dalai Lama and two pro-Communist Tibetans—the Panchen Lama and Sawang Ngabo. Thus the Panchen Lama is restored to the position of power he enjoyed last century. Moreover, the Chinese caused the Dalai Lama to dismiss the loyal Sawang Lukhang, who was Prime Minister and in charge of Tibet during the absence of the Dalai Lama from Lhasa.

Monasteries send their Incarnate Lamas to Lhasa for ten years 792
of schooling. When they come back, will they not be either indoctrinated 648
in Communist theories or, at least, not hostile to Communist influence?

The oracle at Lhasa tells each monastery where to find the reincarnation. That oracle will now be Communist. Will he not use his power to select Incarnate Lamas from friendly sources?

Millions upon millions look to the Dalai Lama as spiritual head of the church. The measure of their resistance to Communism may be dependent on the word from him. As Bakula told me, "Buddhism has a great hold on our people. It is the most important thing in their lives—more important than economic welfare, sanitation, modernization. Our people are interested primarily in matters spiritual."

The Chinese Communists, acting as pawns for Soviet Russia, 648
now stand in a strategic position to exploit that religious situation 177
to the limit. Meanwhile they do not remain idle. From reports that spilled over the Indian-Tibetan border in 1951, the Chinese Communists initially gained some prestige in the eyes of the peasants. They constructed roads and built new buildings. They drew up plans for the industrialization of Tibet. Soviet technicians were "invited" to participate. One of the first projects was a woolen mill. Another was a coal mine. The mill is under construction; the mine is operating. And Soviet technicians are already combing Tibet for uranium, gold, copper, coal, and iron—deposits said to be rich and yet to date never developed or exploited. To a country long under the deadening influence of feudalism, where nothing changed from century to century, any improvement marks
the beginning of a new era. Moreover, the expulsion of the raiding [579]
Kasak bandits brought the Communist troops new prestige. By that act alone they had, in the eyes of the Tibetan peasant, gained credit as liberators.

But the power of the Buddhist priesthood, when allied against 648
Communist forces, may be considerable. The lamas started an 792
208

648 792 208 anti-Communist campaign, a part of which is reflected in a song from the lips of the women of Lhasa, who traditionally sing as they draw water from the wells.

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In the religious city of Lhasa this year
Chinese soldiers have arrived like hail,
Whether as liberators it is in doubt,
Or to tie the throats of the poor.
For things that formerly cost a tranka[2]
We now pay a full do-tse[3]
So let us dance!
They speak sweetly
But what are the sticks [*rifles*] *in their hands*
If not to exterminate
Lord Buddha's doctrine and Tibetan people?
Rise, young men, be bold of heart!
And young maidens, unite together
That happiness may come
And misery depart!

648 792 668 The people of Lhasa began to challenge the authority of the Chinese in many ways. It was not long before the Chinese military strengthened their security measures in Tibet. They increased the Chinese garrison in Tibet. They deprived most of the larger monasteries, which have long served as the granaries of Tibet in time of famine, of their food reserves. The scarcity of food made it difficult for the monasteries to maintain their armed lama police (*dobdobs*). Moreover, the Chinese disarmed the *dobdobs*. Thus are the Communists undermining the power of the lamas.

000 The torch bearer escorted us through the dark, dungeon-like corridors of Sankar and brought us out on the crude, rough slab steps at the front of the monastery. The vast valley of Leh was

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[2] About five cents.
[3] About seventeen dollars.

Yet out of this waste and desolation have been built some of the most magnificent *mani* walls in the world. They stretch almost continuously the whole of the four miles from the Indus to the town of Leh. Some units are a mile long, fifteen feet wide, six or seven high, with *chhortens* at each end. Some are double, with a twenty-five-foot passage in between. Hundreds upon hundreds of slabs of flat rocks have been engraved with prayers and placed on top. All of these prayers are said for the passers-by, who, by the mere act of passing, gain merit. These *mani* walls are the product of centuries of work. Hundreds of faithful hands have carried the rocks from fields and gullies; hundreds of man hours have been spent by lamas working as stonemasons to cut prayers into slate, prayers that will do service so long as the rocks do last. 778 [788]

As we neared Leh we saw the longest of these *mani* walls and kept it on our right until we came close to the south gate of the ancient town. There we stopped and took pictures. I remarked to Rahul that this huge *mani* wall that ran downhill at our feet a mile or so reminded me of a great conduit carrying water off our western mountains for irrigation in distant valleys. He was amused at the symbolism and went on to review the economic plight of this region:

—most of the wealth is owned by a few men and the monasteries. 471

—the great mass of the people are poor, living at the bare subsistence level. 735

—the monasteries pay no taxes on their wealth. [792]• 651

Ladakh, therefore, is a deficit area—finance-wise; and since the Kashmir government gets precious little revenue from Ladakh, it is not anxious to spend much money there for improvement.

Ladakh, therefore, remains a feudal system in the modern world, a feudal system held together by the fears and superstitions and adoration created by the religious order of lamas. 423

the Mongols. The Mongols always came to India to plunder, not 797
to rule. The Moslems, who were Ar[illegible] first came to India to 175
propagate their faith in the ninth cen[illegible] They took over the rule 648
of India in the twelfth century. And so it was that the Maharajah
of Kashmir, militant in his faith and with an eye to its propagation,
agreed to drive the Mongols from Ladakh on one condition.
The condition was that he be allowed to build a mosque at Leh.
He pointed out that many of his faith followed the caravan route
from Srinagar to Leh to Yarkand and yet had no holy place during
their long absences from Kashmir where they could pray to
Allah. The King of Ladakh, more intolerant of the Tartar invader
than the Moslem proselytizer, agreed to the condition. The
mosque has thrived ever since.

The castle of the King of Ladakh, like the King himself, has not 643
thrived. It stands on a cliff behind the mosque and towers over 349
the town. It rises many stories, like an awkward skyscraper. Once
it was a place of splendor. Here visiting royalty was entertained
and feasts were spread. It was to this castle that emissaries from
the various princes of Ladakh sped with payments of taxes and
promises of fealty. It was in this castle that the kings of Ladakh
made their compacts with lamas and so, through the use of
spiritual power, welded together into a compact political unit the
eight principalities of Ladakh.

The lamas still thrive. Their monasteries now hold the great 792
wealth that this castle once commanded. The lamas utilized their 178
spiritual power to acquire temporal strength. In the end, they
surpassed the temporal power that gave them their freedom. The
castle of the King of Ladakh, to be sure, still stands. But it is today
empty—filled with cobwebs, bats, and the memories of an ancient
power that events have transferred to other hands.

The law of Ladakh, administered by the ancient kings, had all 671
the cruelty of our own early system. Ladakh knew trial by ordeal. 695
It was resorted to when the evidence was unsatisfactory, when
the judge with his human limitations needed supernatural wis-

174 foot. This made it very difficult for the Indians who wanted the gold to obtain it, and the only method found possible was to fetch the gold day by day when the ants slept, and bear it away on swift horses. Ants said to be of this wonderful species, were pointed out to Dr. Francke, but they must have considerably shrunk since the days of their fame, for they were now of normal size. But what sort of people inhabited the
361 land in these ancient times? Doubtless, the first dwellers
162 were Tibetan nomads, who wandered about on the immense
221 upland plains of the Himalayas with their large flocks of
233 sheep, goats, and yaks, moving on from pasture to pasture as they still do, so slowly does the East change.

[342] Even now one need go only as far as the Chantang, some ten marches from Leh, to see just the same picture as these far-off days presented. Still each family has its funny little black tent, woven of yak's hair, and with a large hole in the roof to let out the smoke, for the food is cooked on an open fire within. Two or three families settle down with their herds in one place until the grass is exhausted, when they move on to the next grazing ground. Abraham in his day must have
[771] lived similarly on a larger scale. These nomads were probably adherents of the old religion, called the "Bon Chos," from which arise the elements of demon-worship in the Lamaism
[797] of to-day. About this time Indian Buddhism was manifesting a keen missionary spirit, and sending out men to spread its doctrine and enlightenment far and wide. Among those some came to the Western Himalayas leaving traces of religion
162 which had come up direct from India, not *via* Tibet. Thus
● 792 on a medical tour to the neighbouring province of Zankskar, a village was found where almost every fourth man wore the yellow saffron robe of the down-country Buddhist priest.
563 The descendants of these early missionaries called Mons are still plentiful in the land, yet they have remained quite distinct from the original inhabitants. If you want a door made, you must fetch the Mon carpenter. If you want to hear of the brave

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Dedication of a New Mani Wall.

At each end are *chortens.*

A Monastic Band.

One small lay child supports the ends of two long shawms.

A Greeting.

Women who have come out to greet the British Joint Commissioner with flour, water, chang ocal beer) and fire. To the right a " band " of welcome is provided by one gentleman!

[FACING p. 48]

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13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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TWO LADAKIS IN THE BAZAAR AT LEH.

The old Meme (grandfather) has his prayer-wheel with him in order to accumulate merit. He is wearing *charoks*, Yarkandi boots of thin red leather with a felt stocking inside. His companion prefers Ladaki footwear, of which the uppers are woven of coarse wool, sewn on to rope soles. The toes are turned up.

THE BABY SKUSHOG OF SPITUK

With his two lama "nurses." He is wearing the gilded official riding hat.

361 chimneys of its cook-houses look up at you like unblinking
owls. To visit the monastery the path leads up to turn
346 abruptly near a series of little dwelling places covering a small
hill. Unrelieved by the usual balconies and adornments of
village houses, they appear more like stables, but we are
informed they are the abodes of the nuns. The *dGonpa* itself
is very picturesque and a camera might be busy at each corner,
● 792 but the dirt and dust are terrible. The Lamas who belong to
the red sect, are degraded looking, and the whole atmosphere
000 of the village is evil, as several travellers have noticed. What
wonder that below the village we come upon that disinterred
Sodom and Gomorrah already mentioned, perhaps more aptly
described as a ruinous Gehenna with its twisted sulphurous
[491] pillars. So we pass along the high road, meeting the Indus
at the suspension bridge just below the village of Kalatse, and
keeping it company to Saspola. It was when riding along this
piece of road that seven year old Helen asked, as more mountains
came into view, peering over their fellows, "Mummy, how
361 did the mountains make theirselves so big?" After a long
uninhabited stretch of stony road we note a welcome green
patch on the other side, where about three houses find enough
cultivatable ground, fed from a falling stream, to support their
inmates, and we are told that in winter they send their animals
across the frozen river, now wide and rushing, to find what
roots they can and to bask in the warmth on the sunny side.
491 As our destination approaches, a crazy-looking cantilever
bridge with no side rails crosses the river. Though fairly
broad, it spans a high gulf, and it is only certain local ponies
who are used to it, whom one can dare to take over. Fortunately
it is not on the high road, and we may pass on in peace
of mind.

000 The following march ascends a *rong*, which may be defined
as a pass "which goes up, but not down," a narrow defile
which opens out eventually on to a broad plain, whence the
snow crests surrounding the long broad Indus valley in the

CHAPTER VIII

Into Zankskar

631 ZANGLA is the capital of a small province of Zankskar, consisting of only seven villages, which were presented to a former King in reward for aid rendered to Zorowar, the Dogra general, on his way through to the conquest of Ladak.

643 We were heartily welcomed by the King, who is also a
792 *Skushog*, and who allowed us to put up our tents in his private
576 garden. That evening, when requiring a place in which to show our lantern slides, a fine large room in the castle was put at our disposal ; the majority of the villagers came to the entertainment, and his Majesty also honoured the performance, sitting on a chair, of which he possessed two, placed among his subjects, who squatted on the floor around.

466 Next morning quite a concourse of men had gathered to
482 carry our luggage. Some of our loads were naturally lighter than others, but in Zangla everything is done in an orderly fashion. A young fellow, perhaps the only layman of the village who can read, has a small bundle of sticks, on one of which each male villager has his name written. The ones representing those whose turn it is to carry to-day are picked out and placed at haphazard on the various bundles. Each man finds his own name-stick, and without demur shoulders the load which the god of fortune has sent him.

In the province of Bashahr things are not quite so nicely arranged, for when it comes to the casting of lots, each man fetches a stick for himself, but if he happens later to find that

the discussions which were subsequently held at this con- 687
ference, there seemed to be absolutely no doubt that they 648
had no grounds at all for their contentions.

So off we go one beautiful summer evening from Leh to 000 accomplish our first stage, which happens to be quite an easy one. There is a beauty about the summer evenings and the sunsets, especially in the autumn, of this long stretch of broad valley through which the Indus runs, which must be hard to rival in any other of the world's uplands. The roads we travel do not vary much from others we have described, and a detailed account would be tedious, so let us just look at a picture here and there as we go along.

We are now travelling with the representative of his
Majesty the King, one of that splendid set of men working
for the good of India and the maintenance of the Empire, of
whom we are justly proud. Our reception in each village
testifies to the fact of his exalted position. As we enter, we 576
are met by the village band, consisting of two to three kettle- 534
drums, and a similar number of flageolets. High up on the [792]
hill overlooking the village stands the monastery, and on the
edge of the roof twenty to thirty lamas, silhouetted against the evening sky, are busy with their musical honours, wearing their red priestly robes and those weirdly shaped hats which lamas like to don. At one end are several lamas with big flat drums, measuring about three feet in diameter and about a third of the thickness of an English drum, with a handle attached to the brim so that they are supported by the hand underneath at the level of the waist; in shape they much resemble the old fashioned warming-pan. An ordinary drumstick may be good enough for an Englishman, but here something with a more characteristic shape is preferred, so it is formed like a long sign of interrogation. Next to the drummers are those who clash fine large brass cymbals with a very resonant clang. One of our English friends has made a pair of these into a dinner-gong, and a very imperative

868 are real picnics, for *zan* and cooking-pots and wooden cups
are all taken, also a little bit of food ready prepared in the pocket
to eat when away up the hillside, where many a tale is told,
and many a song is sung, echoing across the valley from one
[872] rocky perch to another. So the happy days of childhood pass,
and in this land of primitive needs it is indeed difficult to get
the children together for school. In the winter they get up
so late, for fuel is scarce, dung has to be collected, and wood is
so expensive, and bed is the warmest place till between 9 and
10 a.m. Summer is still worse, especially for the girls, as
they must be off to the hills with the sheep and goats, so
cannot be spared, and when they reach their teens plans for
marriage are laid.

802 But why learn arithmetic when nature provides such a convenient
counting-board as the knuckles. With the thumb as
pointer, each finger has three joints, a total of thirty on which
805 calculations can be made. Why measure time in years,
when a contract may be worded as poetically and conclusively
as follows :—"the bond to last till the crows turn white, and
465 the glaciers melt." Where payment is made in kind, wages
565 need not be calculated; thus your fields can be worked by giving
782 the labourer part of the products. Only the gods must not
614 be forgotten, for the first few handfuls of corn plucked must
776 be tied to the pillars of the best room, and dedicated to the
god of the brotherhood to which any given family belongs.
For each family is linked up in such a brotherhood, the
members of which are called *pa-spun* (man-brethren). These
are originally relations, though outsiders may be sworn-in at
a special feast, and all worship at a common altar, presided
over by their special deity. This custom is said to be a
remnant of the ancient worship before Buddhism came to the
country, the gods sometimes having Hindu names. The
778 altar is originally built as a platform of mud and stone, and
782 on it is placed a clay pot, round which a wall is built. Into
792 the pot are placed small offerings, such as grain, coral, pearl,

pieces of silver and gold, and then a local *Skushog* or great 778
lama comes to dedicate it. The mouth of the vessel is closed 782
and the wall built up over it, then, on top of this is placed 792 ●
another clay vessel whose offerings are renewed annually.
On the third day of the new year the lamas are called in, and
fresh offerings of rice, wheat and barley are dedicated, while
the altar is decked with flags, branches of the pencil cedar,
arrows, and horns of wild sheep and goats. Members of the 614
brotherhood have certain duties to perform in connection
with the great events of life. After death only a *paspun* [764]
may touch the corpse, and in marriages it must be a *paspun* [585]
who carries all the bride's belongings and dowry to her new
home. Thus the countryside is linked up together in the
bonds of a brotherhood based on religion.

787 fifth Buddhist month, and, referring to his books, the *onpo* finds that for him to travel in such a south-easterly direction on a Thursday in the fifth month is most auspicious. But consulting the star for that day he finds the fates are unkind, and that should Puntzog leave on Thursday, he will be robbed. What is to be done, for, in every other respect Thursday is so lucky? Further research into the horologist's library shows a way out of the dilemma. Let Puntzog go seven steps in the direction of Hemis the day before, returning then if he likes, and he can travel safely on Thursday. One day the *onpo* paid the Doctor Sahib a visit, and he, wishing to have horological proof of his married bliss and to be assured of its continuance, asked the *onpo* to read his nuptial horoscope. His age being forty-three years showed that he was born in the "water sheep" year, whilst his partner appeared in this incarnation in the "water snail" year. Now it is quite evident that water and water mix splendidly, so that divorce was out of the question. But he had had a narrow escape, for a year's difference would have been disastrous, as it would have involved the union of wood and water, and as the latter rots the former, married happiness would have been impossible. He then inquired whether his actual wedding day had been a good one, and a beam overspread the *onpo's* face when his books told him that both the day and the constellation pointed to the choice of a perfect day. Not only riches, but a quiver full of children would be our lot. The *onpo* also advised the Doctor to take a sea voyage this year, for he was born in the water year, and this is the wood year; a ship is made of wood and is meant to go in water, therefore such a journey would be most auspicious. As he was to travel to England this year he trusted the omens would not belie themselves.

• 792 Among professions a few words must be said about nuns. Most Buddhist families like to have one representative in the Church, but sometimes they have no boy or cannot spare one.

● 792 In this case a girl must do duty. She begins her monastic life early. Her hair is shorn, she dons the clerical red, which is, however, cut like the dress of a lay-woman, and wears a tight-fitting red or yellow hat, with the sides only turned up. She is now dignified with the title of Grandmother or *Abi Jomo*, just as a lama of any age is respectfully venerated as Grandfather or *Meme Lama*. Generally the nuns continue to live quietly in their homes, but sometimes they are segregated, as in Lamayuru, where there is quite a little nun village. They do not in Ladak perform any ritual, though in Central Tibet they are fetched from their convents to read the holy books in private houses just as the lamas are. They of course remain unmarried, and are generally very ignorant, spending their time in menial labour or working in the fields of the monastery.

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875 The teachers in this Buddhist country are generally lamas, and their work is practically restricted to teaching those youths who will enter the Church or the sons of noblemen to read. It is quite unnecessary for their scholars to understand
788 the written page. In this there is little virtue, but the actual reading of holy books is meritorious. If the lamas are called in to read *Chos* (religion), they each take one page and then read all together, so that ten lamas reading ten pages will get through a book of a hundred pages in one tenth of the
779 time, which is all to the good. The only books possessed by Buddhists are religious ones, and when the unsophisticated villager sees a Westerner reading a novel or secular literature, he respects him for "reading religion," though a more travelled gentleman may suspect the reading of an *akbar*
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875 or newspaper. The Mohammedans too have schools for the children of their co-religionists, and their text-book is, of course, the Koran in the original, namely Arabic. Sitting in a sunny spot in a semi-circle can be seen about a dozen Mussulman boys, each with a book before him. The teacher, an ordinary layman, who knows a little more than his brothers,

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A Skushog and his Monastic Band

greeting the British Joint Commissioner on his tour. The Abbot is seated on a "wooden throne."

The Big Drum.

A similar band, shewing especially the type of drum used with its hooked beater, like a large mark of interrogation.

The Chief Tibetan Representative and his Son

who have come to confer with the British and State (Wazir) Joint Commissioners of Ladak about a boundary dispute.

Opp. Pg. 172

ordinary walk, twirling their prayer-wheels and mumbling 796
their *Om mani's* as they go. Strange pathetic little humans 788
they are, set in a vast panorama of snow-covered mountains with giant peaks soaring up into the silences of the clear blue sky, and often in this frosty winter time tramping out their tiny track on a universal white mantle of snow. Then, too, above the temple which houses the "Byamspa" and on the same Tsemo, is another with three other deities. Round this is a most shockingly rickety verandah, which looks as if it might tumble down at the slightest provocation, and no doubt will do so some day. I myself have walked round this in fear and trembling, but now there is a column of men and women, one close on the heels of the other, and round and round the temple they walk, some turning prayer-wheels, and others saying the *Om mani.* Round and round they go until we feel giddy watching them. Even from below, right down in Leh, they can be seen circulating round their giddy parapet.

We now come to Spring, when everything is breaking out 796
into fresh life. At this season the lamas of Sankar remain in 792
their monastery for a whole month, during which special services are held. By this isolation they are deterred from taking life through stepping on insects as they pass along the roads. It is during this time that the service of making 796
"*Chos spun*" is performed, which actually means the "making 608
of the brethren of the religion." Those wishing to join this fraternity fast one whole day, during which they are not allowed to swallow even their own saliva. Then each man throws into a receptacle some personal belonging. The officiating priest takes these out in twos, thus making their owners spiritual brethren, after which ceremony, if one of them makes a feast, he must invite his brother, or if there is a festival, they must send one another presents.

A moveable ceremony is the celebration of the Buddhists' 796
High Mass. Its general likeness to our Christian service 774
makes one wonder whether Tibetan Buddhism did not get its

of the few countries remaining where it still obtains. Various 595
economical reasons have been urged for this unusual procedure. The foremost is that it arose in order to keep down the population in a land where sustenance of the body is so hardly won from the dry soil, and the difficulty of transport necessitates any small community being self-contained. A second is that where the nomadic life prevailed, it was inconvenient to trail many women and children around. But a Ladaki himself will tell the questioner that the custom is of royal institution, and is for the stabilizing of property. If each of several sons possessed wife and family, how could they all be supported on one landhold ? Certainly the component parts, after dividing into three or more shares, would not be sufficient for any one family. This, therefore, is a different way of stating the first reason alleged, and the present method of tenure is much more economical. The wife is brought for the elder son, and, as a matter of fact, only
one more brother is likely to share the lady's favours. The [792] ●
third son is probably given to the Church, and any more [582]
pass into other families as *makpas*. The *makpa* leaves his [764]
father's home and gods, as we have seen, adopts those of the [614]
heiress to whom he is wedded, and, when either of his parents dies, he is not allowed even to touch the corpse, though he may officiate fully in the case of the dead bodies of his bride's parents. As our Buddhist serving-man put it : "My daughter is of no profit to my corpse, save to say 'Father, Father!' and weep, and throw a little barley behind me, but she must
not touch me." So does the marriage tie really become firmer [593]
than the relation between parents and offspring. In upper Ladak, therefore, more than two brothers rarely share one wife, as it is impossible, practically, for more than that number to avoid quarrelling. If the eldest son approves of this second bridegroom, and thinks that they will be able to share their wife peaceably, the younger man is included in the wedding ceremony. The white head-dress is given to him also by the

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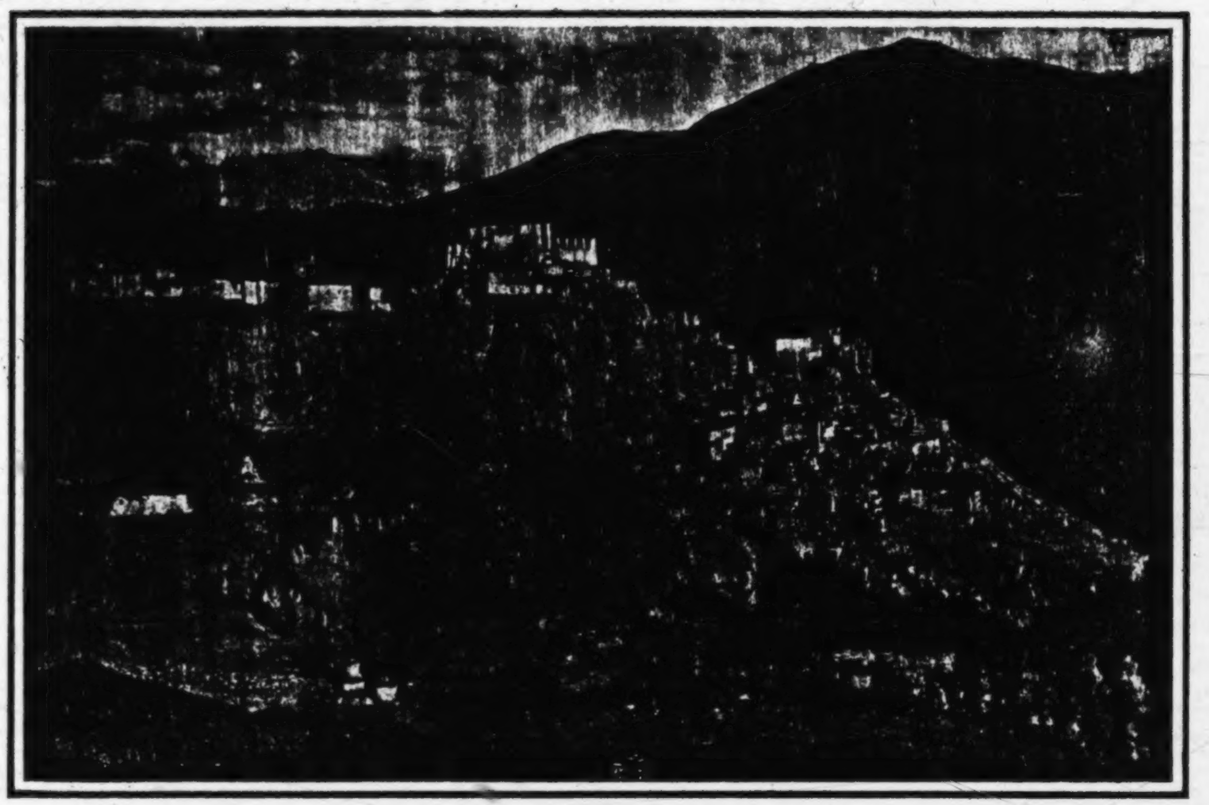

LAMAYURU.

" A fit capital for Hobgoblinland," shewing the monastery crowning the hill. Many chortens can be seen dotted about. The nuns' dwellings are below the hill in the foreground.

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643 the only village from which he is allowed to take the revenue.
651 His whole income has been computed at about Rs4000,
approximately £260 per annum, which leaves little margin to
644 one who is still supposed to entertain on a royal scale. His
castle stands on the side of the hill ending a spur from the
main range ; it is entered through a court-yard, through which,
up various steps, we reach a large room—the royal living room.
[798] In one corner is the King's altar, next to that a bed with bedding
rolled up. This is where his Majesty seeks repose,
643 while his Queen and his Mother sleep on the floor. We are
574 received by the King, who shakes both our hands. The two
ladies, too, give us a hearty welcome, first the elder, whose
cataract we had extracted some years ago, and then the
younger. We are requested to sit on rugs spread on the
floor, and soon have various Ladaki dishes placed before us,
most of them very tasty, even to Western appetites, although
we can hardly include the butter-tea in this category. Conversation
flows easily, for there is much to say and many
[593] questions to ask and answer. Among other things the
reigning Queen informs us that her husband has no head for
figures, so that she has to be the business manager, and she
certainly looked capable of seeing to the temporal affairs of the
643 realm. When it comes to those of a spiritual nature, however,
793 his lady has to leave the leadership to him, and the number of
[791] his ecclesiatical responsibilities is quite considerable. Before
the New Year, the horologist has to tell him of dangers to
come, and to advise him what scriptures must be read to
788 avoid them. Every month, for six days at least, the lamas
792 must read *chos* (religion), and must be fed with two pots of
tea, soup containing wheaten flour, two earthenware pots of
beer, twenty measures of parched barley-flour, besides one
pound of butter to decorate the offerings which are made of
[784] barley-flour, and ¼ lb. of oil for their lamps. On the
15th and 18th of every month, no meat may be eaten, or
the *lhus* (spirits of the underworld) will be annoyed. From

the 25th of the tenth month till the 3rd of the eleventh month, 788
eight lamas from Hemis have to come to read services for the 792
stabilization of his throne. One cannot help thinking that these must have become slack in their devotions! At other times the gods of peace and war have to be propitiated by further reading. By the time all these ceremonies have been performed, there cannot be many days on which the lamas have not to be rewarded for services rendered, and—all on about Rs4,000 per annum.

Then he himself has his matins and evensong to read. 643
Even before the family has risen he must get up and read his 788
chos, and after they have retired he has to perform more ceremonies.

So pass the days of this monarch; little of interest occurs in his life, which is filled up with a monotonous round of senseless readings of holy books, which neither he, nor those who read, try to understand. The word "Ichabod" might indeed be written over the house of Namrgyal.

Although the Rajah of Stog, as he is termed, is the chief 631
ruler in this country, there are other royalties of minor im- 643
portance, thus the "King of Marshro" has but one village
under his sway. His eldest son will rule in his stead one day, [776]
whilst the powers which decide in what bodies *Skushogs* reincarnate have fortunately discovered in his younger son, the new Bacola, the *Spitug Skushog*.

In Zankskar we have already met a King, who is also a [793]
Skushog, in fact, he is prouder of his priestly office than of his royal rank, and stranger still is the custom of that country, where the heir apparent to the throne is the second son and not the eldest, who becomes a proper lama.

Whilst we were in Padam, the capital of Zankskar, a poor 662
old gentleman called on us in our tents with a few dried apricots and some candy sugar. After some time we found that he was the real scion of the royal house of Zankskar, but his ancestor had lost his crown by trying to oppose Zorowar,

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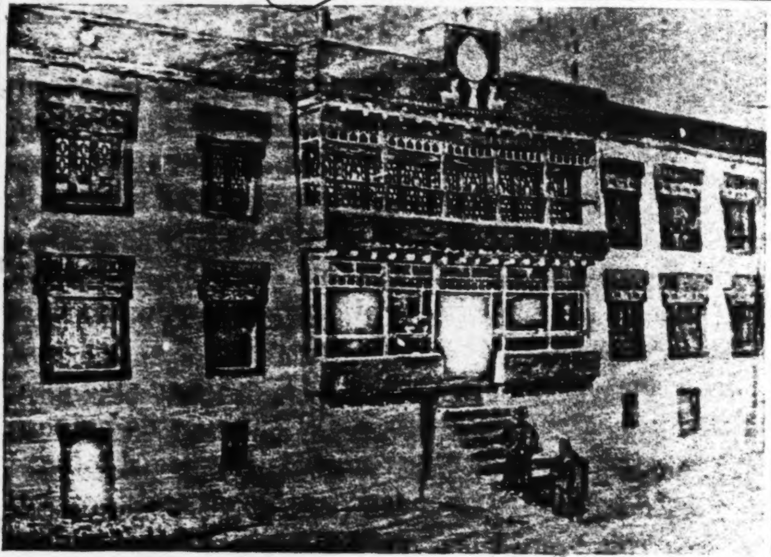

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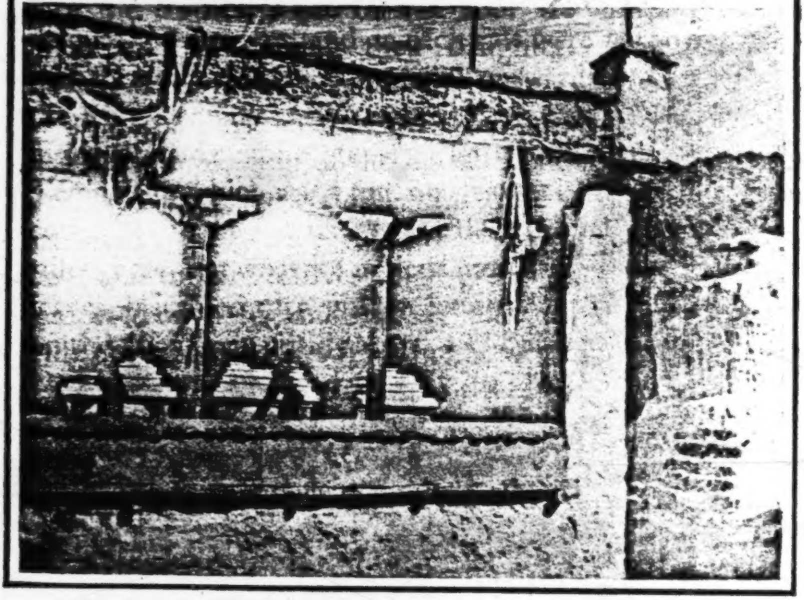

SANKAR dGONPA.

A small yellow-sect monastery close to Leh, shewing the main entrance.

A SHRINE.

The three *chortens* inside are usually coloured red, white and blue; and on the walls behind them various gods are depicted in bright colours.

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CHAPTER XXI

A Typical Monastery

792 346 THIS is a country of monasteries, hardly a village is without one. In some it is imposing and situated on as high an eminence as can be found conveniently near the village. In others it is just a better class ordinary house with one or two lamas. Some [795] monasteries belong to the Red sect, others to the Yellow. In some there is a resident Incarnation and others are only visited by one occasionally. It would be tedious to both reader and writer, to describe all these, so we will confine our attentions to one of the most pleasing and certainly one of the cleanest of monasteries which lies close to Leh, and may be reached by a twenty minutes' walk up through the fields behind the rest-house. A small village and a group of poplar trees, much above the average size, indicate the direction from afar, also the glint of the gilded wild goats represented just below the roof of the monastery can be descried from some distance. Having sent a message beforehand to the *sLob-dpon* (pronounced "Lobon") or head lama in charge, we meet for an early tea, and wend our way up along the stony paths by the side of the watercourse, skirting the corn-fields, so as to be able to use our cameras while the light is still good. This little monastery of Sankar is closely allied to the Yellow Cap one at Spitug, about five miles away, and is presided over by the same *Skushog* now incarnate in the small boy of whom we shall speak later.

792 But during his minority the real presiding genius is Meme

● 792 Lobzang, a delightful old gentleman with a benevolent face and a courteous manner, which are really quite charming. He is quite a good photographer, and this common hobby forms a natural link of friendship, including requests for the purchase of self-toning paper and other photographic requisites. He is expecting us, and stands in the side of the doorway with some of his lamas so that we may advance without fear of the monastery dogs, of which there are always some about, who generally announce the arrival of an intruder with considerable 346 and alarming vigour. The main doorway is lofty and deep, 792 with heavy wooden doors, but to-day it is closed, as inside [351] carpenters are sitting under its shade sawing away for some builders, busy at a new balcony in a near corner of the building. The side door, a smaller one, is that generally in use, and admits to the corner of the large court-yard, in the middle of which are two walled enclosures round wild rose bushes, one a large yellow one, the other pink, with another bush whose pale yellow flowers, insignificant in themselves, have the [788] strong scent of syringa, in bloom. In the centre there stands a high poplar wood pole, to the top of which is attached a black yak's tail, and running down its entire length a prayer-flag. To one side of the enclosure is a mounting block from which the *Skushog* can mount his steed.

Lying about the court-yard are a few dogs, but they seem quite peaceful and undisturbed by our advent. The main temple faces us as we enter, three storeys high, with the usual roof-edge of a layer of sticks about one foot broad, lying end-[788] on, and painted with ochre. On this roof are erected at intervals long rough poles bearing prayer-flags, or yak's tails, or an umbrella-shaped structure consisting of long streamers of plaited yak's wool bound together by coarse strips of raw silk and surmounted by a trident. The windows, latticed-shaped but unglazed, are interlaced with wood, picked out in various colours, and, across the top of each, is a little valance, a frill of some coarse white cloth with a red

346 striped border The other three sides of the court-yard are
● 792 filled in with the two storeyed private dwellings of the
lamas. No pillared cloisters are these, but just an occasional
flight of a few steps, then a door, and at the side a
window at a level which may or may not be in relation with
that of the other doors and windows, and over both apertures
the same kind of valance. If the latter sags in the middle,
there is no hurry to replace it, far less to wash it, but on the
whole this *dGonpa*, presents quite a clean, brushed, cared-for,
tidy appearance. Ascending the steps, we arrive in the large
covered portico outside the main room or refectory of the
353 monastery. All round the three walls pictures are painted in
779 bright colours. On the left is the " Wheel of Life " held by
532 a dragon-like monster. This consists of an inner, a middle,
and an outer circle the middle one being divided into six
compartments. The inner circle represents by means of a
dove, a serpent and a pig coloured respectively red, green and
black the three vices, lust, ill-will and stupidity, which bind
man to the wheel of existence. In the upper compartment of
the middle circle are the gods, into this grows the tree whose
fruit provides any food desired by the soul and whose roots
lie in the world of the demi-gods, who continually wage war
against the gods in order to obtain this fruit. In the upper
left-hand compartment are men. The above three existences
are superior, whilst below the equator are the inferior ones of
beasts, then of *yidags*, poor miserable men with large bellies,
but such small necks that their hunger can never be appeased
through such constricted throats, and in the lowest section
are the hells, both hot and cold. A cold hell seems rather a
misnomer to English ears, but Ladakis, at any rate, know the
terrors of extreme cold. Buddha himself is out of the circle,
and yet his reflexes seem somehow to be still in the wheel of
existence. In the outer circle are pictures illustrating various
phases of life, such as birth, marriage, death, burial work.

Opposite the top of the steps, on each side of the door with

its fine brass bosses, are the gods of the four points of the 353
compass, whose duty it is to guard the temple, and these 779
figures are depicted outside most temples. On the right 532
wall of the portico is a benign old gentleman, the god of luck,
who sits under a tree bright with blossom, and holds converse
with sundry animals, such as a stag, an elephant, and
a peacock. We take a deep breath of fresh air before entering 346
the refectory with its dim atmosphere of musty incense, 352
lighted from above through a central aperture leading to an 792
inner roof, and from the door behind us, and slowly descry its contents between the dark wooden pillars and the faded hanging banners. Opposite to us the *Skushog's* throne is raised above the other seats, upholstered with rather dingy cushions on which he, of course, sits cross-legged, so there is no need for a place for the lower limbs to hang over, but immediately in front of it is a narrow ledge-like table on which are the tools of his office: the bell, the thunderbolt or *dorjhe*, a small tambourine, with a very restricted waist and a long tasselled appendage, as well as the knob on a string which beats on the skins when rattled. Other utensils consist of temple vessels for pouring out water, beer, tea and other libations. Leading up to the throne, on each side of the central aisle, are the seats of the lamas slightly raised above the ground, well-padded and covered with rugs, and in front of
them a continuous shelf-like table. A cup or two may be 264
seen left from the last meal; here, in the corner between seat and table, rests a leather bag, and on a plate some butter and tea. A lama tells us the tea has been given out of the bag and placed with the butter ready for the morning meal, which they take, he says, about 9 a.m., though they get up at sunrise.

Near this physical sustenance, on the lamas' seats are a 352
collection of brass bowls leaning against one another upside 792
down, as though to drip after washing. These are for the
oil and wicks to be placed before the altar. The seat of the 352
Slobdpon is at the head of the monks' pew on the right of the 792

352 *Skushog*. Next to the *Slobdpon* sits the leader of the eccle-
●792 siastical band. Heading the opposite row is the *Umdzad*,
who is the steward and is responsible for the worldly affairs of
the monastery, and in some *dGonpa* at the further end, near
the door and on the *Skushog's* left, a seat is reserved for a
disciplinarian who has to keep the lamas in order should any
misbehave.

792 Thus they sit, whether they are at meals or engaged in their
346 devotions. The latter consists of the reading of the books,
punctuated every now and again by the band, when the
353 flageolets are blown and the drums are boomed. Behind the
779 row of seats one's eyes, now accustomed to the dimness, are
532 able to make out the walls, painted with pictures of all sorts of
gods and creatures, human, animal and mixed. Here is one
specimen of dragon-like fury, crushing all sorts of wretched
creatures under his feet, no doubt for punitive purposes, and,
let us hope, remedial ones. Another wall will show Buddha-like
figures in peaceful contemplation, and with hands and
fingers placed in various postures, each of which has its own
special signification. In other places are wooden shelves and
recesses of various sizes, once gaily painted round the edges,
though the light is too obscure to appreciate it, now
blackened by age and smoke. In these sit more images of
gods, mostly of a beneficent type, but the chief ones will be
[415] found behind the *Skushog's* throne. In a corner will be seen
immense pots used for water or beer, a most fascinating
assembly with their long-nosed spouts drawn straight out
from the brims, high pointed collars behind, shining copper
sides with brass edgings and waist-bands, the latter sometimes
779 chased in silver. In another corner will be dusty shelves
788 containing the holy books, manuscripts written on parchment
and tied between covers about twelve to eighteen inches long
and some four to six inches high. So holy are these that when
they are being carried along the streets, the good Buddhist
uncovers and touches them with his head. They also are

often shaded by an umbrella, and at times of drought are 779
taken out for a walk under this to invite the rain. 788

Passing behind the *Skushog's* seat we come to a better 346
lighted room with more idols all around in their recesses, giving 792
one the impression of an exhibition of different sized dolls 532
houses, in fact our guides take us through a succession of such 779
rooms, all much resembling one another, but each with its
own purpose. Thus, in the first of these, is the temple of the
god called Avolakita with his eleven heads, surmounted by
the head of Amitabha, the Buddha of Boundless Light.
Round the whole, looking rather like a halo, are 1000 hands,
each one of which has in its palm an eye. In order to accommodate
his many heads an attic projects up into an inner
courtyard of the upper storey. The living representative of
this god, the All-merciful One is the Dalai Lama, and the story
is rather a pleasing one. Avolakita was about to enter
Nirvana, when he happened to look back and notice some
poor creature in trouble. Requesting his father, Amitabha,
for permission to return and help him, he received this reply,
" Yes, go back, but when you get there, you will find that
there are many others in trouble. In order to see them all,
I give you a thousand eyes, and in order to save them all a
thousand hands." This surely savours more of the true
Buddhism than the everlasting desire to do actions which shall
obtain merit. A friend of ours has pointed out that these
heads represent four past races, and that actually there should
be twelve heads, three to each race, but the men of Atlantis were
so bad that one of their three has been omitted. In front of this 782
image stands a large ewer on a pedestal, which should be filled
with butter and in which a burning wick should be floating,
but we must admit that on the occasion of our visit, at any rate,
it was " the light that failed." We pass into another room
containing other images, and whose walls are hung round with
many *thangkas*. These are holy banners of various sizes, the
smallest about one by two feet, hanging from a stick on which

346 they can be rolled up, and covered by very thin silk, from the top
532 of which two or three broad ribbons depend. These depict
779 gods or goddesses or the "Wheel of Life," and with their
● 792 colours mellowed by age are sometimes very beautiful and of
real value. From here we pass into another fairly large and well-lighted room with frescoes and holy banners on its walls. This is much used during the first month of the Buddhist year, when special ceremonies, already described, are performed.

792 We go up some rough, ladder-like stairs into the room where
352 the *Skushog* usually sits, his place being marked by cushions and a padded back of gothic shape, and with a row of little Tibetan tables and mats at right-angles, where his attendant lamas sit with him. Near his seat, hanging up on a nail in the pillar, are seen some of his ceremonial hats; thus for riding he has a round most uncomfortable *papier maché* structure, with crown far too small for anyone's head, a fair-sized brim, and a dome with a knob on the top, the prevailing colours being red on an orange background. Even with its strap under the chin, it is difficult to see what possible purchase so small a crown could have on any head in the slightest wind. At its side, a tea cosy-like head-dress, peaking over to one side in dark plum-coloured silk with gold patterns on it, is the one he is said to wear in the mornings and at certain annual festivals. Occasionally a devil-mask is seen hanging up, and in this particular monastery, no doubt reflecting Lobzang's hobby, are occasional cheaply-framed photographs of the Dalai Lama or of other lesser dignitaries.

792 And there is still another room in which there is a large
778 god of the name of "Dukar." He is of such a size that his
532 head projects into a second storey reaching into a little
782 verandah on the roof; the general arrangement is much like that of Avalokita, but his is a malevolent nature, in proof of which one sees the sickles, knives and arrows in his 1000 hands. Under his 1000 feet are many poor creatures, both animal

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and man, and he possesses 1000 heads. Thrown at his feet 778
one notices many cowrie shells and Indian copper coins, the 532
former brought by women to appease him. This image was 782
only made a few years ago, and a special series of services
were held to induce the god to enter the image. These 792
ceremonies were accompanied by feasting and dancing in the 778
grove of large trees at the side of the monastery, while the
actual ritual was performed on the roof, where Meme Lobzang
(the *Skushog* being then a tiny baby) presided, assisted by a
group of lamas, who helped him to pour the right libations
and offerings from the many vessels and bowls before his
throne into the large fire which leaped and crackled before
him, accompanied by monotonous incantations and chants
from a group of seated lamas, and, of course, the monastic
band. To this roof we now duly ascended up another very steep 346
ladder, where Meme Lobzang himself extended his hand to 792
help the ladies with true Western gallantry. The view was
magnificent, both behind towards the Kardong Pass and
before down to Leh, whose trees blotted out the desert below,
so that the cultivation and all its little square terraced fields
might have extended to the foot of the mighty mountains on
the further side of the Indus, all touched with the magic softness of the westering sun.

Retracing our steps down the steep staircases, through the dim passages and rooms, we emerged again into the portico, and viewed the lamas private dwellings ranged on the three sides in front of us as we descended the temple steps. In the left-hand corner was a peculiarly fantastic bit, so delightfully crazy it looked. A short flight of steps led up to two doors, each with an ancient padded curtain to keep out the draught, and a sagging valance above, whilst over one was a quaint little attic with a window of roughly-patterned lattice, its lines so fascinatingly crooked, and enhanced by a small awning, projecting from one side of the attic to shade the roof, on the edge of which was a series of rough window boxes,

346 where American marigolds sometimes blossom. Once, to
792 finish the picture, we glimpsed a bent little old lama who
peeped out of the attic and over the window boxes, and saw
for a moment the elfin grey locks and untidy whiskers of his
hatless old monkish face, the fittest possible inhabitant of that
grotesque little corner.

There was one more interesting little visit to be paid. Meme
Lobzang actually consented to show us his own private com-
partments. There were eight of us, and the lamas had some
whispered consultation as to whether we should all get in.
Across the court-yard and up some steps to the right of the main
entrance, under the valanced doorway, through a small vestibule
in which we noticed a fascinating copper water pot, we entered
a tiny room looking down towards Leh. We could just manage
to sit down on the floor, the interested lamas peering in and
352 watching our every movement with amused curiosity. The
353 floor was covered with small mats over felt ones. The
792 *Slobdpon's* chief resting place and probably his bed, was rather
more padded, and covered with an orange felt. He sat with
his back to the small latticed window, a low tiny table in front,
and at his side a higher one on which were sundry portraits,
one of their Majesties, the King and Queen, one of the Dalai
Lama, and one of the *Skushog* of Hemis in his festival dancing
dress with high hat and overskirt of human bones, taken by
the Doctor Sahib. A pickle bottle held a bunch of green from
the shrub in the court-yard, and at the side was a low open
bowl of rose petals. A small god like a doll, and a pot of
charming design, the latter unfortunately dressed in lady-like
petticoats, were also noticed, besides a printing frame, and
another tiny god of doll's house size. Behind him on the
windowsill sundry writing materials, religious books, and
small ceremonial utensils lay about, a coloured portrait of the
late King Edward hung on another wall; in fact every corner
574 of the room was used, yet the effect was clean and tidy. Stuffy
it could not help being with so many visitors, and, after taking

a dried apricot each (to dispose of later on by some other means 574
than the mouth), from a plateful which he presented to us, we
rose to go. On the way out he invited us to see his kitchen, 346
another tiny, but tidy little apartment, with its cooking vessels 792
clean and neatly arranged, and its low roof shiny with the polish
of years of smoke. These rooms had not been tidied up for
our reception, yet they completed the pleasant impression of
order and cleanliness he had already given us, and it was with
a real respect for the benevolent old gentleman that we bade
him adieu, and passed down by the iris-bordered corn-fields in
the soft evening light to our homes.

CHAPTER XXII

Skushogs & Scandals

● 792 775 [554] AMONG the greater personages who periodically appear on the stage of public life in Leh are the *Skushogs* of the surrounding monasteries. The word Sku-shog, meaning literally "body-great," or translated freely, "your presence," is a title of honour used ~~by~~ Central Tibetans for any person of rank, including even the European occasionally, but in Western Tibet it is confined to clerical dignitaries, and, in practice, is only used to designate the head abbot of one or more monasteries. Such a man is regarded as having obtained sufficient holiness to reach Nirvana, but in his compassion for his fellows he voluntarily remains in the wheel of life, and comes back to help them by presiding over their *dGonpa*. Thus as soon as the head incarnation of a monastery dies, he is re-incarnated in a male baby born at the time of his death, this child then has to be discovered and brought to rule over his own lamasery when old enough. Here he is absolute monarch; he himself cannot do evil whatever sin he commits; he is a law-giver, but need not abide by the laws he lays down. The method of discovery and preparatory education of a *Skushog* may be best told by translating a short biography written in Tibetan by the *Skushog* of Hemis at our request.

792 159 "My own home is not in Llasa itself, as my father was an assistant to the Yutog minister, whose house is connected with Lhasa by a bridge, covered by a roof set in turquoise-coloured baked bricks. My house-name is 'Yutog Shar.'

The Yutog minister is the governor of twelve provinces and 797
lives in the Kensdongrdzong. 159

"I was born when my father was in the employ of the Yutogpa. My birthday is in the fifteenth Rabjhung, in the year of the Sheep. According to the English calendar, this would be the year 1883 A.D. When I was eight 159
years old, that is in the end of the year of the Iron Tiger, 775
the steward of the Hemis monastery, whose name was 792
Ngagwang Chos Zang, and the Kashmir State sent to Llasa for me, where I was staying at Dechen Choskor, which means the Holy Wheel. That I was their *Skushog* was conclusively proved to the envoys, for when they asked the Yongdzin Incarnation to tell them where they could find their new incarnation, he told them my house-name, my father's name and the name of my birth-year quite distinctly and correctly, although it was impossible for him to have known anything about me. Having arrived at Lhaldang, they acquainted me with this prophecy. This 792
was in the ninth year of the Iron Rabbit. After doing 159
obeisance to the Dalai Lama with the *Lobchag* [this is the merchant who is sent from Ladak every two years by the Kashmir State to salute the Dalai Lama and to hand him a present of Rs.9,000]. I offered my first hair to the Yongdzin, who was my Arch-*Skushog* at Dechen Choskor, and was then decorated with the crown-name Ngag Wang Jhamspel Gelegs Rgyaltsan Lhundrup Chogslas Rnampar Rgyalwai Lde, after which I started on my journey; at Shigatse I went to meet Panchen Ertini (the Trashi Lama, who is next in rank to the Dalai Lama), and after this arrived safely and happily at my destination in Hemis. The next year my enthronement as the successor of former *Skushogs* took place, after which I returned to Lhasa, going on to Sangsngag where the Arch-*Skushog* lives, and where I met the head of the Red Sect Lamas, the Drugpa Rinpoche and the Yongdzin Rinpoche, and where I learnt the

● 792 doctrinal truths, staying for some months. After this I
159 stayed in Gongkar Dechos until the Sheep year, and in the year of the Firemonkey I went to see the Galwa Rinpoche,
[554] that is the Dalai Lama. Having done obeisance to him, he conferred on me the rank of 'San-o-han-too,' which is a Mongolian word, and other honours which are only bestowed on men of high rank. [To show this rank he has an umbrella carried before him, and possesses his own flag.] I was also placed over other *Skushogs* and professors. I thus received such kindness and praise from the Dalai Lama. That year I returned to Ladak, and the next I passed my examination in doctrine. After this I went to the hermitage of Godtsang, where I lived as a hermit, meditated on the doctrines of Saskya Rnyingma and Drugpa, etc., and read the Kangyur and the scriptures of the Lord Buddha, and pondered their meaning. Here I remained for ten years, but in the Firemonkey year I came out of retirement, and from that time onwards I have been travelling about Upper and Lower Ladak and Kulu, visiting my congregations and giving money to a few lamas, and occasionally I stay in a hermitage."

792 Since he wrote this little history he has also made a grand
177 tour through India, Ceylon and Burmah to Lhasa, and has thus seen something of the impact of Western civilization, which interests him greatly. He has always been much attracted by small mechanical toys and Western devices, such as electric torches, clocks, watches, microscopes, etc., and is himself an expert photographer. Some visitors to Hemis were once amused to see on each side of the chief altar in his private apartment a pair of Odol bottles, their bent necks facing each other. When we first visited this room, they were replaced by Southwell jam jars containing artificial flowers. He is interested in Western medical science too, and gave a sum of money to the Doctor Sahib towards getting the operation theatre of the Moravian Mission Hospital in

order, so that he might thereby " help blind Buddhists to get 792
their sight." Hence the board outside, declaring it to be 177
" the Raspa Operating Theatre." He himself once came
for a temporary stopping to be put into two of his teeth, one
of which still remains after seven years. During his time of
retirement up the hillside, he also read through our Christian
New Testament, as translated into Tibetan, and when he first
visited our house, his attention was attracted by a picture of
the Last Supper, and he at once asked which was the Apostle
John. He can write a good hand in English, and we believe
understands far more of the spoken language than he allows to
appear. He is the special abbot of the royal family of Leh, 792
and whenever he comes from his monastery, some twenty-three [643]
miles away, to make a short stay in his town house at
Leh, lamas appear on the roof of the castle to salute him with
their long shawms and flageolets. Throughout the whole of
his stay, salutations are played in the evening after sunset,
when the long boom of the large instruments and the plaintive
tones of the smaller ones are particularly pleasing, as they
steal through the quiet after the close of day, and also during
the early hours of the morning. For this latter réveillé I fear
the lamas have no clock, for in summer it seems to take place
at any time between two and five a.m., sometimes long before
sunrise.

Approaching Leh from the direction of Hemis, a hill 792
suddenly rears itself in the middle of the valley, surmounting 361
which is a monastery, that of Stagna. The head lama of this
monastery we first saw at the Hemis festival in 1925; he was
then a little boy of six, and we shall refer to him later in the
description of that event. He belongs to a special sect, [795]
whose name denotes their pale yellow caps, and who are mostly
congregated in Spitti.

On another commanding position, and seen from as far
up the Indus valley almost as Stagna, is the *dGonpa* of Trigtse,
perched on the top of a hill, which marks the end of a spur of

792 361 mountains, jutting out of a long range to the north of the valley. This is a Yellow-Cap monastery and therefore gives a cleaner impression than most of the red ones. Its present re-incarnation was the hero of a strange series of events during the time we lived in Leh.

792 159 It must have been in 1914 that we first made his acquaintance. We heard that the Trigtse *dGonpa* had been without a *Skushog* for years, but at last a deputation of lamas had visited Tibet, and declared that they must bring their *Skushog* back to take up his rule. The boy, who was then about nineteen, refused to come, and his father strongly advised the lamas not to take him, declaring they would only rue it. He was a head-strong youth with no ecclesiastical leanings at all, and had already, we were told, fought on the side of China against his own country. The lamas insisted however, and he was brought to Ladak and installed at Trigtse. He seems to have been anxious to make the acquaintance of the white man, and, thinking he must do in Rome as Rome does, he sent an envoy from Trigtse to Leh to seek out the correct clothing for his first call on the Sahibs. This man, having searched the bazar in vain, called at the Hospital and asked the Doctor Sahib where he could buy a solar topee. Now the doctor and his bride, when they first came to India, had been advised by ill-informed friends to be sure to purchase these topees at Trieste, their port of sail from Europe. Here, therefore, they invested in what proved to be most inappropriate policemen-like helmets, and a kindly sister in India at once saw to it that the Memsahib's was replaced by a more suitable one. Bringing the ugly old helmet to Leh, in case the better one broke, she little thought how august a wearer it would find, for the Doctor Sahib with sudden inspiration sent the man over to his house, where his wife unearthed the discarded topee for the servant to take to his master. She added a pair of speckled socks of her husband's of which she disapproved, an armful of picture papers, and

some vegetables from the garden, and the man went off in 792
high glee at the success of his expedition. 159

The next morning we were asked whether the *Skushog* of
Trigtse might call upon us. We hastily arranged for an inter- 792
preter, for our Superintendent was away, and we were all 159
new to the country; moreover, our guest's language of 574
Central Tibet was quite a different dialect from that of Ladak.
He duly arrived, dressed in his official robes and attended by
two or three lamas, and was invited into the drawing-room.
But he lingered in the hall, and to the Doctor's surprise
began to undress. This process continued to such an alarming
extent that he was led into the study. Two other ladies had
just called to go out with the Memsahib, and great was the
surprise of all three when the drawing-room door opened, and
the *Skushog* entered. He wore the helmet-like topee, a Chinese
type of frock-coat with paired pin-tucks across the back, brown
trousers, a pair of bright yellowish socks, and some Chinese-
looking attempts at European shoes. Invited to a chair, and
the interpreter called, he entered into friendly talk. He [797]
announced among other things that he would like to become
a Christian, but we did not take this seriously, and pointed
out that he could not do that and retain his wealth and power
as a *Skushog*. He then intimated that he would like to stay
the night, a rather awkward proposition with our
limited accommodation, but we said we could give him the
verandah. His lamas whispered anxiously together and let
him know it was time to go. Meanwhile they had boiled some
tea for him on a little fire outside our kitchen in his own
pots, as he must not take food of our cooking. After this the [276]
Doctor offered him a cigarette, not knowing in his ignorance
of the country that it was against the rules. The *Skushog*
made violent signs to him to withdraw into the study again,
where, away from the eyes of the lamas, he enjoyed his smoke
thoroughly. The latter were at last able to get him to go,
and withdrew him on to the verandah where he changed

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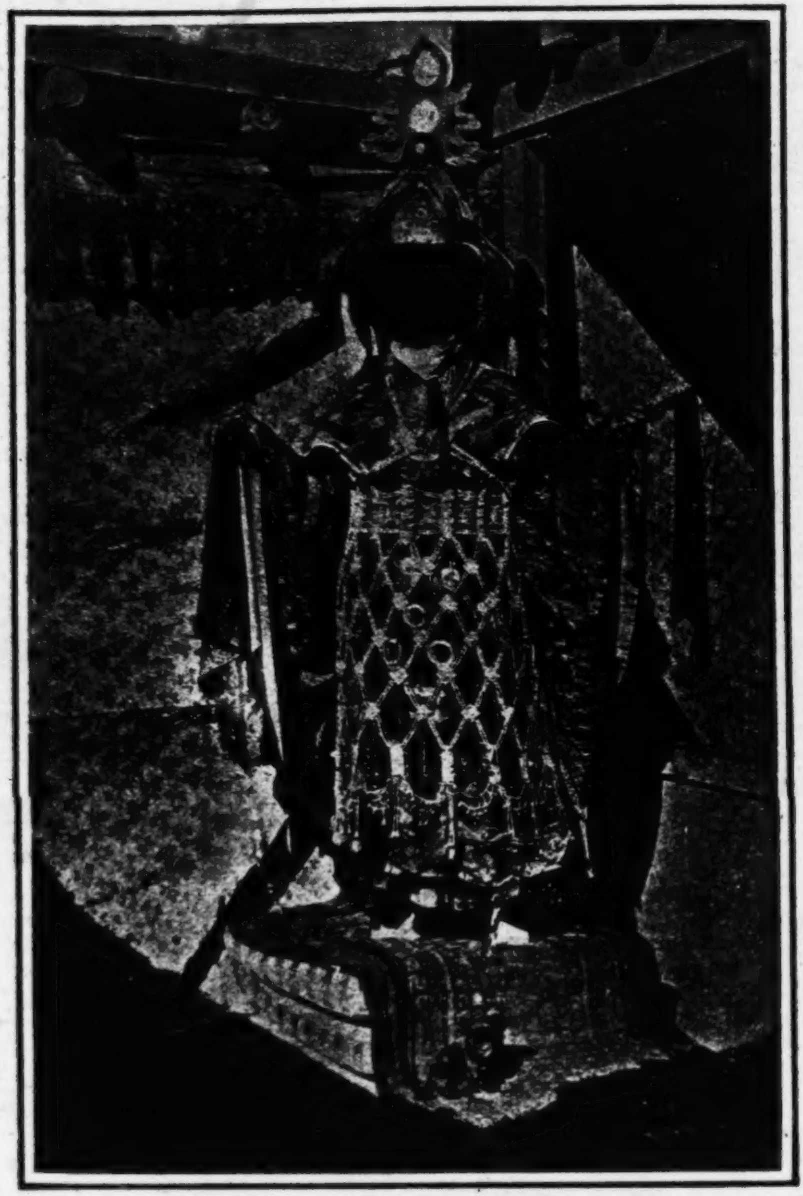

THE SKUSHOG (ABBOT) OF HEMIS dGONPA

In the robes in which he led off the first dance at the Festival of 1916. The overskirt is made of human bones, and in his right hand he holds a dagger. The cloth across his mouth is to keep out the dust raised by the dancing.

[FACING p. 732]

● 792 159 574 back into his priestly vestures, which, needless to say, suited him far better. Before he finally retired to change into them, he straightened himself and squared his shoulders, in order to show us that he also possessed a waistcoat ; but, alas ! between the bottom of that garment and the top of his trousers was a hiatus in which his holy brown body was disclosed. Short of stature, with a strong convergent squint, and scarred by small-pox, indisputable signs of his being the true re-incarnation of his predecessors, for he was sure that he himself had never had small-pox since this re-birth, the foreign clothes hardly showed him off to advantage. The next occasion on which he visited us he retained his *Skushog's* garb and had a photograph taken of himself and his suite, the incongruous element being that his most intimate servant was not a lama, but a Mussulman with short hair and a Tibetan cap with four fur-lined flaps.

After his first call, we took the opportunity of a day's holiday to ride over to Trigtse and visit him. We found him encamped in a *bagh* below and about a mile away from the monastery, in a gorgeous tent with nice camp furniture. We ourselves had brought a picnic lunch, at which he elected to join us. The Memsahib was much amused to find that for her first attempt at meat patties, she had put sugar into the pastry instead of salt, but the *Skushog* seemed to find this quite to his taste, and enjoyed them immensely. Afterwards we all repaired to the monastery, riding our ponies up the steep ascent, and he showed us over it, including all his own private apartments.

792 159 771 But things soon began to go wrong and all sorts of rumours reached Leh. The *Skushog* declared in public that he did not believe in his own office or his religion. When the common people knelt as he rode past, instead of placing his hand on their heads in benediction, he boxed their ears. He had no reverence for the holy property of the monastery, but sold many of its treasures to any good bidder ; he also had the

•792 159 771 idols out in a row to use as targets for a shooting practice. His colleague at Hemis sent him a letter, and this he returned with a donkey drawn across the bottom as his pertinent and only reply.

[626] One day matters came to a crisis : his lamas gave him a severe beating and shut him up in solitary confinement. Yet by every token he was their *Skushog*, and one of them seems to have relented and released him. The two came to Leh, where the *Skushog* first went to the State Hospital to have his external wounds attended to by the Indian Sub-Assistant Surgeon, but his internal treatment he could only trust to the English doctor, so for that he came to the Mission Hospital, where he also received a lesson on Western professional etiquette. The monasterial difficulties resulted in a court case, following which certain of his lamas were sent to prison in Leh, which hardly bettered the relations between them and their spiritual head.

It was not now practicable for him to return to Trigtse, and the question arose as to what was to be done with him, for still he was their *Skushog* and entitled to the financial benefits of his office. The matter came up before the British Joint Commissioner, the Wazir or State Joint Commissioner, and eventually was taken to H.H. the Maharajah of Kashmir. The result of it all was that in 1916 he went down to India, and for two or three years vanished into oblivion. Early in 1920 he again appeared in Ladak with one lama servant, giving stange accounts of his experiences in India. He said that he had served as a common sepoy in Baluchistan, alleged that in some capacity he had been as far as Basra, that he had acted as bearer to an English officer with alcoholic tendencies, and also that he had been connected with a Colonel Sahib in the neighbourhood of Madras, who had treated him as his own son, and of whom he always spoke with sincere and friendly gratitude. He still maintained his utter disbelief in the religion of his fathers. The people

792 called him " the Mad Skushog," but, said he, " I am not mac
159 I don't believe in it at all." The problem of his sustenanc
771 and the dues of the monastery remained, for still no one els
could be their *Skushog* during his lifetime, yet he entirel
[797] repudiated his office. The Mussulmans in Leh pressed hin
to join their ranks, offering monetary advantages, and th
Buddhists were naturally very upset when he asserted tha
the only religion which appealed to him was Christianity
and vowed he would embrace it. He came to the Moraviar
missionaries and asked them to accept him. It was a difficul
situation, as his sincerity, especially after his wild dissipatec
life, needed proof, but at last they began to give him instruc-
tion, telling him that study and probation were necessary first
He came regularly to read with one of the missionaries, wh
found him a most interesting and quite intelligent pupil, t
whom some of the things which puzzle Occidental minds wer
perfectly easy, while other fundamental ideas, which our mind
can accept unhesitatingly, he as frankly avowed he could no
believe.

[626] At about this time, living as he was with his one lama ser-
vant in the town, and visiting Mussulman and Buddhist home
alike, he began to be alarmed for his personal safety. Afte
taking an evening meal out, both he and his servant were ill
and he suspected poisoning. He came to the missionarie
and begged them to take him into their compound, wher
he knew he would be safe. After some consideration, he wa
given accommodation, and it was a strange thing to look u
the compound in the morning and see the *Skushog* sitting o
his steps in the sunshine, studying the Bible. We still sus-
[557] pected that the desire to join the Christian religion wa
secondary, and this suspicion grew when it was found tha
he had hoped to get a political post under the British Govern-
ment, and so go back to Tibet under its protection. Withou
it he certainly dare not venture, for he feared the Tibetan
would dispose of both him and his father, by tying them u

in yak's skins and casting them out in the desert to be shrivelled 792 to death. A Bishop was coming to visit the Mission, and the 159 British Joint Commissioner would soon be coming up for the 771 summer months, so he waited with us for both, though meanwhile he went away for two or three weeks to fetch some of his property from Zankskar. He took his lama servant with him, and, before starting, secured what he considered was an outfit of European clothes. When remonstrated with, he replied that he had thought over the matter carefully, and wished to show that he had made a clean cut with the old life. On his way down we heard that he stuck to his pro- [792] fession of Christianity, asked a blessing before his meals, read his New Testament aloud, and, when the usual offerings were brought to him by ardent Buddhists,—for still he was a *Skushog*,—only took them under protest, saying that he himself had no blessing to give. Arrived at Zankskar he obtained his pony and goods, but his lama deserted him, in fact he seemed to have had a rough time, and he came back alone. Strange it was to think of this high-born ecclesiastical dignitary travelling in the Orient with no servant, though doubtless credulous Buddhists were still eager to obtain merit by providing for his wants at each stage. A short waiting time remained, during which he often came to meals with us, rode and talked with us, proving an entertaining companion and a gentlemanly guest. He also continued his instruction and attended church services regularly, sitting on the floor with the other members, and entering into the responses and hymns with apparent sincerity and enjoyment.

Finally, through the British Joint Commissioner, he was given a post in the Secret Service at Gyangtse, just across the Tibetan border on the Darjeeling side, and left Leh with letters of reference and recommendation, vowing that in two years he would come back to complete his instruction in the Christian faith.

So this strange youth vanished from our midst. We

792 learned afterwards that with the Maharajah's sanction, he
159 obtained Rs500 from the Trigtse *dGonpa* to help him to
771 get home, though the lamas would commit themselves to no statement as to whether they still regarded him as their *Skushog* or not, but at the monastery itself they always refer to him as the "Mad Skushog" still, and can appoint no successor during his lifetime. The last news we were able to obtain was from a lama, returning from Lhasa and visiting relations near Leh, who said that he was still alive, and that he and his father had saved their skins owing to the latter's wise forethought at the time the deputation first fetched his son from Tibet Knowing the lad's extraordinary character, he had taken the precaution to draw up a document, stating that the Trigste lamas insisted on taking the boy away, both against his own will and the son's. This paper eventually saved their lives, but the father was subsequently dismissed from his high post in the government and relegated to a lower one, while the son seems to live in a place of internment somewhere in the Closed Land, though not in Lhasa itself, provided with a house and fields, but segregated with other renegades, where, as the Trigtse lamas put it, he has not now the power to do so much mischief.

792 Coming down the valley we meet our next Incarnation at Spitug, another lamasery picturesquely perched on a hill. When we first came to Leh, he was personified by an old man bearing the pontifical name of Bacola whose reputation did not savour of holiness. His other, and smaller, monastery at Sankar, just behind Leh, often received visits from him, so that he was not infrequently met on the six miles of road between. He died in 1917, but it was not for two or three
[775] years that we heard that he had been re-incarnated in the second son of the *rGyalpo* (King) of Marshro, a petty Rajahship some fourteen miles away. Through his mother, who, like the old Bacola, came from Zankskar, his present physical body is a great-nephew to his former one. When this small

person reached the age of five, he was brought from his home 792 and with elaborate ceremonies inducted into office, the rites being performed at Sankar. From this time he remained in the care of the lamas, Meme Lobzang, our old friend at Sankar, being his lay tutor, while his spiritual instruction was undertaken by the Sras *Skushog* of Ridzong, of whom more anon, and with whom he sometimes went away for long periods. The present Bacola is a charming little person, with a big head and large wondering childish eyes, in fact, it is quite pathetic to see him sitting on his little throne in his own private apartment at Spitug, with the insignia of his office replacing childhood's playthings on the table before him, and to hear his lamas instructing him as to what to say and do in their most polite and deferential language. Once one of these satellites arrived in Leh, and earnestly asked one of the Memsahibs for a cabbage. "But," said she, "it is late in the winter and all our cabbages are done. We have not enough for ourselves." But the lama pleaded and pleaded,—even a little tiny one would do,—for the Baby *Skushog* was crying and would not be comforted unless they procured a cabbage for him. So the Memsahib searched among the few old vegetables left, until she found a little one that would satisfy his baby desire.

The *Skushog* of Peyang does not often visit Leh, and we have rarely seen him, but he is reputed to be one of the most erudite scholars of his own religion. He is of the red variety [796] and holds sway over the Lamayura *dGonpa* also.

Finally, a few words must be said about the incumbent 792 of Ridzong lamasery, a few miles behind the hills of Saspola, 588 who also rules a monastery in Nubra, so has constantly to cross the Kardong Pass. This gentleman, with his refined scholarly face, is perhaps the most spiritually-minded and learned of all the neighbouring abbots. A member of the [796] reformed yellow sect for whom celibacy is decreed, he has yet dared to take and acknowledge a wife, instead of indulging

792 588 in the usual profligacy, which still must be legitimate for one who is a law-giver, and who can do no sin. This lady, who is addressed by the honorific title of *Bûm*, often accompanies him on his visits to Leh; she is very resplendent with magnificent *perag* and jewels, but quite friendly, and when she visited us was most interested in our children and their toys and dolls, especially one of the latter with eyelashes!

775 792 The *Skushog* is generally known as the "Sras" or Son *Skushog*, for he is one of a pair of incarnations, the "Yab," or Father *Skushog*, being the priest-king, we have already met on our tour to Zankskar. In the present re-birth the son happens to be older than the father, but that is a mere detail in this system of re-incarnation, where the physical body is of such minor importance.

796 The date of the Hemis festival falls in our calendar at any
time between the beginning of June and the middle of July.
361 The later it falls, the more European spectators are enabled to
•792 get over the Zogi Pass in time to see it. Hemis monastery
lies in the foothills on the south side of the Indus one-and-a-
half marches from Leh, and is reached by a good road on
either side of the river. Crossing the latter at the cantilever
bridge, some four miles below Leh, at the side of which is a
pleasant little *bagh* for picknicking or camping, the road
skirts the upper edge of the prolonged village of Chushod,
towards the further end of which are camping grounds. Then
it passes over a long bare plain to another *bagh*, a welcome
oasis in the desert, whence the path turns up across the hill to
[778] the right. Hemis itself is hidden from the valley behind a
spur of mountains, but the gorge in which it lies is indicated
[244] by the long *mani* walls and white *chortens* which line the
approach. Rounding the corner of this spur of hills, the eye
is met by the usual series of terraced fields and the end of a
long belt of trees, which fills up the narrowing gorge. Behind
the mountains rise in ridges of well-marked strata, backed
finally by rugged upright pinnacles on which the sunlight and
shade play with fantastic beauty. As the road nears the
monastery each turn reveals increasing fascination of brown
rugged rock and green tree, and, above all, of quaint *chorten*
with red-ringed superstructure above white pudding-like base,
until at last the *dGonpa* itself comes into view, a long, rather
low building, with the usual goblin-like dwellings of the
village climbing up the hill at the side. The belt of trees
keeps on the further side of the central stream, and at the time
of the festival its enclosure is dotted about with wild rose trees,
pink with blossom, a strange suggestion of the English
574 countryside in this wild land of bare mountain tops. It is in
this enclosure that the *Skushog* or Abbot allows his European
visitors to pitch their camps, and even provides luxurious,
spacious tents of his own for the more favoured guests, who

574 are personally invited by him. At the lower end of the wood
he has lately built a guest-house on the plan of the bungalows
inhabited by the missionaries in Leh. On the side furthest
from the road, directly opposite the monastery, the wood
000 ends abruptly on the bare hillside of rock and stone. Climbing
to a good vantage point on this, a delightful spot can be
found to listen to the monastic evensong, and watch the
shadows steal over the vast expanse of the river and valley
spread out below.

Though the spur of hills cuts off the main Indus valley to the left, beyond it rises tier after tier of great bare lonely mountain tops, overwhelming in their immense majesty. Behind even these giants, the clouds lift to disclose still greater heights of everlasting snow. Truly one has now the impression of having arrived on " the roof of the world." In the valleys below, the lights and shades chase across hill and plain, and, as the moon comes up in the cloud-flecked sky behind and pursues her slow path through the white wind driven masses, the strangest wraith-like forms seem to rise and pass below. At first they appear to be white clouds tucked down between the lesser hills, but, as they move to and fro, it becomes evident that it is merely the effect of the moonlight between the passing clouds thrown on to the sandy spaces.
533 Then across the stillness of that great expanse, hitherto only
797 broken by the stream coursing down between the trees some
346 way below and the breezes rustling their leaves, comes the
strangest music, slowly rising in pitch and increasing in tone
till the hills take hold of it, and roll its reverberations on among
themselves, achieving an effect weird and fascinating beyond
description. Turning in the direction of the sound, one sees
to the left, in the darkness only, the faint outlines of the monastery
building with dim lights shining in its windows, while
other tiny ones twinkle fitfully in the quaint habitations
merging into the hillside, whose queer ridged stratification is
faintly perceptible, but one knows that on the roof of the

533 *dGonpa* strangely appropriate lama figures with fairy-tale 792 hats are blowing long shawms, telescopic trumpets which pull out to about fourteen feet, while at their sides are other priests 346 ready to take turn with their smaller flageolets. The strangely Wagnerian effects of these shawms, which is soon replaced by the higher tones of the other instruments, throw a plaintive, questioning, sweetly-sad melody out into the mysteries of the 600 silent grandeur around. The vastness of nature's magnificent rugged mightiness, the elfish dwelling places and lights fashioned by human hands in this strange mountain fastness, and the haunting nature of the weird music under the star-spangled moonlit sky, combine to form an atmosphere which will last as long as the memory can recall them. Returning to camp, we almost stumble over a pile of sacks, and are surprised to hear a *zhu-le* and descry a head at one end. It is our own ponymen, who had been passed sitting round their camp-fire on our way out, now already tucked up under their sacks in the open. Proceeding more warily, more sacks are found covering watchers beside a mare who foaled the day after arrival, and yet she, carrying her load with her two-days old offspring at her side, will travel back with us next day, the long-legged wee thing occasionally getting a lift in the arms of the ponyman, and turning up at the camping place apparently none the worse for its fourteen mile run.

796 Up the sides of the stream sounds of revelry begin to arise from around the camp-fires of the many pilgrims, laughter and chatter and the rhythmic beat of dance music. Many [291] of these pilgrims we have already seen on the road ; town [301] ladies from Leh with immensely wide *perags* and all their gala finery, rattling with jewelry, their blue turquoises and gay capes of red and green showing up as delightful spots of colour on the bare brown landscape when they rode ahead. 184 Stopping at any little spot by the roadside, where water is accessible to brew their tea, were little groups of wayfarers from the countryside below Leh and from the lesser known

side valleys, the latter at once detected by a slight difference 184
in dress or dialect. Here came a group of Indian officials
from Leh, in front the white turban and coat of the Tehsildar 796
or chief magistrate on an alert little pony with one or two 560
attendants, behind at a little distance his daughter in her closed dandy, then his wife in hers, and their carrying coolies singing as usual ; sometimes the wail of the baby was heard from within the curtain. Leh traders, who put up little temporary shops under canvas along the main street (a series of steps and platforms at the side of the monastery) a detachment of Gurkhas from the company stationed at Leh, two Ladaki girls riding on one pony with a male relation at the side, all these, and many more types we can study at leisure during ~~the long~~ intervals of the performance, which would be unutterably boring apart from the picturesque and varied audience, to whom we are as much a part of the show as they
are to us. One more little group, passed as we neared the 797
monastery, deserves mention. Placed on a sort of chair, 796
railed on the four sides and fixed to his saddle, sits a wee baby *Skushog*, the Incarnation of the *dGonpa* at Stagna, about ten miles away. He wears the correct red *Skushog* robes, and processional riding-hat, and wobbles a bit with fatigue after his long ride. We stop to greet him and his attendant lamas, and find he is only six years old, in fact he looks less.

They draw aside to let us pass, and, as we look back to bid him adieu, the rich red of the lamas, the yellow-brown of his pony, with its small offspring sidling up to the mother adding a further baby element to the group, form such a picture against the green trees, *chorten* gate and distant mountainous background, that it makes us wish our camera was not packed up and ahead in our bedding. This tiny abbot re-appeared several times during the ensuing ceremonies, now on the roof, now in a balcony, now in a prominent corner just outside the main door of the *dGonpa*, always with his devoted lama nurse in attendance, and delighting us by his

• 792 baby antics, mimicry of the dancers, and enjoyment of the
796 tamasha, till finally we met his diminutive Holiness being carried off in his lama's arms down the steps to bed, still full of beans, and turning from a blessing he was instructed to give to a bowing worshipper to look back at the strange MemSahib, and lift his hand to his forehead saying "zhu" to her.

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536 Now we must turn our attention to the ceremonies and first endeavour to present their strangely fascinating setting. The European visitors are asked kindly to bring their own chairs, which are placed in a row on a covered balcony one storey above the court-yard and facing the main buildings of the
[565] monastery. These are four storeys high, the upper ones having a series of verandahs, each adorned across the top with a valance, in which the *élite* of the country sit. One of the upper ones belongs to the *Skushog's* own private rooms, and
[643] only himself, the old ex-King, who is now leading a priestly life as a hermit in a neighbouring nullah, and one or two high-born gentlemen appear in it. A large cloth is hung over it, so that their privacy may be maintained when desirable, but, during the performances, the old King is seen in full view, while the dark-blue spectacled eyes and clean-shaven and shorn face and head of the *Skushog* frequently appear under a raised corner. In the adjacent anterooms sit other honoured guests, while the lower storey balconies seem reserved for ladies, for many widely-turquoised *perags* are seen from time to time. Placed on the roof at intervals are sticks supporting yak's tails, three-skirted umbrella-like structures, and others made of yak's wool. At the left-hand corner of the court-yard a wide flight of nine steps leads up to the main door on the first storey, and this throughout provides a centre of unceasing fascination. Not only do the actors enter and depart up and down these steps, but the whole time they are peopled by lamas ascending and descending, sitting and standing, a most wonderful kaleidoscope of red, the extraordinary thing being,

So from time to time one interesting type after another 796
appears on the scene and catches the eye. Always in the 184
picture the ecclesiastic element is prominent. Most of the 291
lamas wear waterbottles, square, flat bags with hole and cap
at the top. These are used to put the holy water into, which
alone they are allowed to drink when they fast. Some are
covered with beautiful Chinese silk brocade, which is worn
only by senior or superior monks. Quite a number of
novices are about, boy lamas of all ages from about eight
upwards. The majority of the crowd are, of course, our own
Ladaki friends from the neighbourhood of Leh, with a good
sprinkling of interested Mussulmans distinguished by fez
and turban, and a few Hindu shopkeepers, clerks, and their
servants. In the balcony at right angles to us, sitting next 792
to the Gurkha sepoys stationed in Leh, is a hermit who
lives in a little hermitage half-way up the hill about two miles
from Leh. He looks anything but a hermit in his fine red
robes, with hair done like the Spitti men, but wearing a
lama's cap.

He is very restless, and his face looks peevish and certainly
not meditative. But he comes out of retirement a good deal,
for we have met him in the fields, and a week after the festival
there was a gathering in the desert outside Leh, where the
Skushog of Hemis consecrated for him a new *chorten* and *mani*
wall, which he has built to bring blessing to the town, so he [554]
cannot be a man of poverty. At the festival he is provided
with a deck chair, and a second day we see him busy tearing
a long piece of yellow silk into strips, which we later notice
adorning caps and garments, doubtless after having been
blessed by the *Skushog*.

It was surprising how quickly this concourse of pilgrims 796
melted away. The morning after the festival, when we
moved out of the village at about 9 o'clock, it was almost
empty again, neither did we pass many of them.

As we descended straight down to the bridge, crossing the 000

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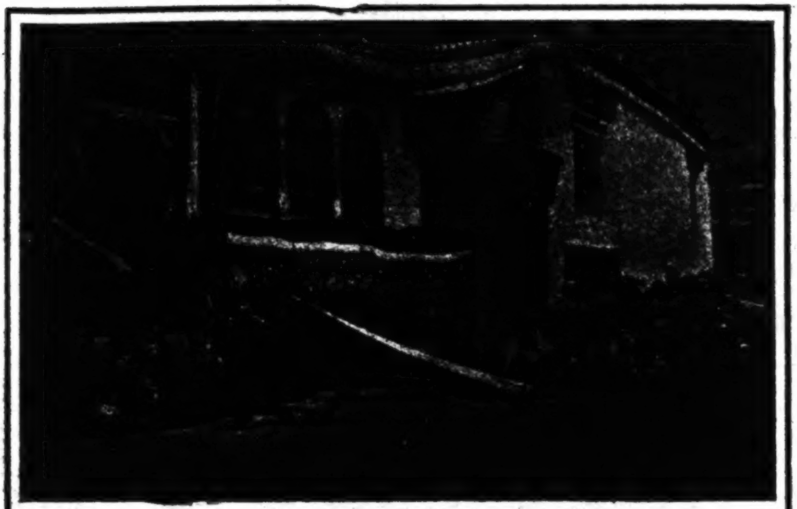

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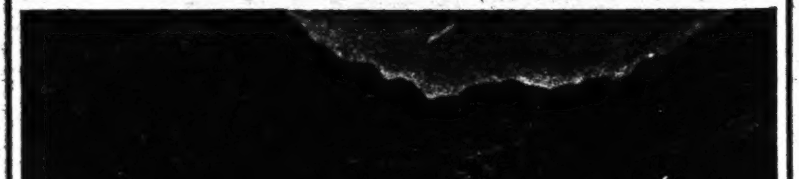

THE FESTIVAL AT HEMIS.

Showing the lamas of the monastic band blowing their long *shawms*. To their left is the *Skushog's* throne, and to their right a large prayer-wheel framed in a projection of masonry.

HEMIS DGONPA.

With *chortens* in the foreground. This is the monastery where the great festival is held annually. Hidden among the foothills, it has escaped pillage. Hence it is rich in treasure.

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CHAPTER XXVI

The Lure of Ladak

771 THE festival at Hemis is, as it were, a grand climax to all the strange things we see and find in this extraordinary country, which culminate in its religious practices. We have described lightly the outward ceremonies and appearances of the masque, emphasizing perhaps its humorous details, conscious and unconscious: yet, when we review it as a whole, we cannot but be appalled at its deeper significance, nor can we fail to realize that this country of cheery, attractive, lovable folk is a prey to the most rampant demonology. Where all the best religions of the world will at least point upwards, as it were, to "whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report" as worthy of contemplation, here the whole force of Lamaism directs the people's attention downwards to that which is impure, ugly, evil. Surely in spiritual matters they are "upside down"
787 rather than we. The study of their horoscopy alone impresses one with the terrible burden of it all, the endless costly offices imposed on the common ignorant, superstitious people by Lamaism. It is rightly stated that "one family alone is prescribed a sufficient number of sacerdotal tasks to engage a couple of lamas fairly fully for several months of the year."

788 The rites enjoined to overcome the difficulties of the conflict-
●792 ing horoscopes of relations dwelling together, the ceremonies necessary to nullify evil influences in connection, not only with the crises of life to which we have referred, but with

other lesser events in the family activities and even in the 788
surrounding neighbourhood, all are used to exploit the 792
credulity and fears of a primitive people for the enrichment in money and power of a set of priests, themselves with little education, save the reading of their " holy " books. Thus, [162]
apart from the exercise of these functions, the lamas, who are 792
said to constitute almost one third of the population, lead useless lives of indolence and indulgence, contributing nothing to the economical and certainly not to the spiritual welfare of their fellow countrymen, but merely absorbing their hard-earned riches in parasitical luxury. As an observer from the Chinese side has recorded, " Lamaism is responsible for having sapped the manhood of Mongolia of its energy and initiative, and deadened its intellect." By segregating such a large proportion of its young manhood into an enforced and false celibacy, it lowers the birth-rate as well as the moral
standard of the country. How infinitely removed are these 0-0-6
evil practices from the pure teachings of the Buddha, whose name has been associated with the veneer of reform introduced into this devil-worship. The wonder is that the people remain as wholesome and cheery as they do, and no visitor to Ladak will deny the attractiveness of this sturdy hill race.

Indeed they are part of that lure of Ladak which every year provides the British Joint Commissioner with a waiting list for travellers desiring passes far longer than that of the successful applicants. Falling into a different category from the ordinary visitor is the sportsman, whose pass is included in his shooting license, men, and even women, to whose primeval hunting instincts the great hills call. The mere traveller may be lured by the everlasting hills also, or the peculiar bare country, or its strange inhabitants and their quaint customs. The mere joy of the road calls some, while few can on arrival resist being curio hunters, and during their brief visits concentrate their attention on any of the following : the cups of rare china, the more common wooden ones lined wtih silver, ooo metal spoons, brass and copper tea-pots or other utensils, robes and other garments of Chinese design, turquoises, jade ornaments, furs and small carpets. Some of these visitors travel very simply, with minimum of servants and luggage; others prefer a voyage de luxe with a long train of both. The former when invited to dinner, would fain accept, but regret they "have only shorts," and are happy to be assured that this is quite correct evening kit in Leh. The latter bring full evening dress, and one of these evoked a facetious comment from our man-servant. Unlike the custom prevailing in India, we train women-servants for the work in the house, while a man combines all the functions of water-bringer, gardener, groom, etc. This gentleman was asked to light a fire on the second occasion when a certain Mem Sahib was expected to dinner, although in this land of scarce fuel we had not thought of beginning fires for ourselves yet. His concise comment was, "Much meat, little clothes."

Then there are visitors who are specialists in some particular line of research, and, in the short twelve years during which we have been closely connected with Ladak, we have had among our visitors botanists, geologists, ornithologists, archæologists and topographers; also devotees of the camera, even of the cinema, besides those of the brush, who comprise a list in themselves, from the mystic type of picture painter, the etcher, the futurist, and the straightforward colourist (if we may coin the term), to the lightning or snapshot sketcher. Some of these specialists have been organized into expeditions, such as the Anglo-Italian one, led by Sir Filippo De Filippi in 1913-14, and which passed on into the Karakorams and the Depsang Plateau, but was brought to an abrupt conclusion by the outbreak of the Great
789 War. It comprised many experts in different sciences, and those who were engaged in gravimetric observations in
•792 the course of their investigations sent up several air balloons in Leh. These eventually descended in the surrounding

villages, and were the cause of much wonder and fear, out of 789
which the lamas made a rich harvest by exercising the evil 792
influences they were supposed to disseminate. This expedition was also able to receive in Leh wireless messages from 000
Dehra Dun, perhaps a foretaste of broadcasting, even across the Himalayas. The Dutch expedition of 1922, and again in 1925, as we write, at work on the glaciers of the Karakorums, led by Mr. and Mrs. Visser with their Swiss guides must also be noted. Then there are our political visitors in the consular service, who occasionally come through this way from Central Asia, and even China, to say nothing of the interesting patients we have, not only medical, but occasionally mental, and we may say even moral, referring to those who unfortunately did not feel bound by promises contained in their signed passports.

Not only do these people keep our small European community busy during the visiting season, but in the long closed winter, and indeed all the year round, they solicit many favours. Thus the Doctor Sahib himself has been asked to collect butterflies, birds and their eggs, algae and fungi, ferns, flowers, stamps, curios and even mosquitoes by sundry enthusiasts, to say nothing of requests being made for long dissertations on the Buddhism and mysteries of Tibet by unknown theosophists in the Antipodes. Thus, among our acquaintances made in this relatively isolated spot of Central Asia, we may number, besides those of adjacent countries and our own British Islands, men and women from America, Norway, Sweden, Holland Switzerland, France, Austria, Italy, Russia, Persia, China and Japan, so that there is no doubt that the lure of Ladak is a real fact. Some of these travellers rush into print on the subject of their visits here, and we read their journalistic efforts with interest, sometimes amusement, others weave light stories of travel, while some of the deeper students engage in profound treatises on their own special subjects. Even a close connection of twelve

778 this ancient religion in the neighborhood of Khalatse. I have discussed these discoveries in Z. D. M. G., Vol. LXI, p. 583, and following. We are dealing, in this case, mostly /25/ with curious rock formations which are reminiscent of the deities of the ancient religion. Such places are the following: 1. Khyun-ran-byon, "the Khyun who appeared by himself (Garuda, sun bird)." A stone at the place so named shows the approximate likeness of a Khyun, and it is still spread with butter as a sign of worship. 2. Ke-sar-gyi-sga, "Kesar's saddle." A stone here has the shape of a Tibetan wooden saddle. 3. aBru-gui-dabs-khor, "tambourine belonging to aBru-gu-ma." Here we find a rock in the shape of a circular dish. Shallow caves with charcoal drawings are in the vicinity. 4. aBru-gui-phan-lo, "spindle of aBru-gu-ma." In the place bearing this name we observe shallow hollows in a large rock. The rock inside these hollows has many natural yellow spots in the shape of a Tibetan spindle. All kinds of charcoal drawings, of which some are also representations of the spindle, are to be found in the vicinity as well. 5. Ke-sar-gyi-khan-pa, "Kesar's house," is a large piece of rock which has a large round white spot on its western side. This is called the door to the house.

Quite similar cult places are to be found in the district of Nub-
[792] ra, to the North of Ladakh. But whereas we were able to discover
scarcely any traces of earlier idol worship at the cult places, those
of Nub-ra are still tended today and served by red lamas. Missionary
Redslob was shown two such curious rock formations. Near A-ra-nu
(Su-mur) a fairly dark picture of a crowned lion could be seen on
the wall of a rock of a brighter color. Redslob believed he recognized
a lion also on a rock near Der-ze above Panimig. The natives may
recognize in these lion-like representations pictures of the glacier
776 lion. The people of Nub-ra call old spirits who, in their opinion,
778 are supposed to have their domain by these strange rocks, mGon-po,
rulers. They enumerate eight principal rulers of this kind for their
[113] region Nub-ra, and I have reproduced the list of these rulers in my
book Durch Zentralasien in die indische Gefangenschaft /Through
Central Asia into Indian Imprisonment/, p. 125. In this list we
again find a name that reminds us of the "sun bird" of Khalatse. The
mGon-po of mGo-sbed is called Bya-rog-gdon-can, "wild bird
[532] with a face." In later representations of the Khyun (Garuda) this
bird has been given a human face. (See Tables XIII and XCL in
my Antiquities of Indian Tibet.) Also, the "ears" of the bird are
[825] very clearly visible in these pictures. The Khyun is regarded as an
enemy of the Nagas (klu) which often assume the shape of water
SNAKES.

476 men or women to assist him in working his fields
for a given number of days, he must on a subsequent occasion supply the equivalent in man power when called upon to do so.

The Farm Servant (*Len-mi*).

556 The more opulent farmers keep one or more
men or women as permanent servants. These
464 are employed from spring until autumn, their
465 remuneration consisting of one piece of homespun
cloth sufficient to make an outer garment, board and lodging, and a payment of 12 rupees at the expiration of their period of service. If the servant be a male, his allowance is the same as that given to a woman, with the exception that he receives double that amount of money (*i.e.*, 24 rupees). In some cases, however, the payment is entirely in kind.

233 *Village Shepherds* (*Lug-rdzi*).

Each village employs three shepherds to
[422] pasture the communal flocks. These shepherds
464 have, however, to perform subsidiary duties, such
621 as assisting each householder in building or
repairing walls round the fields, ploughing and threshing.

When the harvest is gathered in, the shepherds make a house to house collection of barley and buckwheat. In addition to this they receive one fifth of the produce of wool from the communal flocks, which is divided amongst them equally.

Loans in Grain.

426 Many of the monastic institutions in Western
Tibet are very wealthy and increase their income
792 by negotiating loans of grain to the poorer
241 peasants, taking interest at the rate of five
measures for each kal of grain lent (*i.e.*, 10 lb. of grain for every 40 lb. lent, *viz.*, 25 per cent.). The result of this extortionate rate of interest is to put the poor farmer entirely in the hands of the priesthood, and rob him of every chance of increasing his annual output of crops through acquiring new farm implements or improving his land in other ways.

Manufacture of Beer.

273 The consumption of locally brewed beer from
barley is very considerable, for at least one third of the annual yield of barley is converted into this liquor. Whilst it is difficult to estimate the exact quantity of barley used for the manufacture
273 of beer, the average would be roughly 20 *kals* of
439 barley per household (800 lb.) This means that
the Lahouli has to import large quantities of

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reasons are concerned, the Mahabarata epic is the only case of its kind in the whole of India. The Todas, when you ask why they are polyandrous, always say "Because we are the same people as those of the Mahabarata", but I am convinced that they have got this explanation from the anthropologists and not the other way around! As far as the economic reasons are concerned, these also seem to me insufficient, because there are people living in the same area, in the same physical environment, who are not polyandrous. Even the Tibetans, when they become Moslems, though their environment does not change, suddenly cease being polyandrous and live in the Islamic fashion. The rich Tibetans in central Tibet are also polyandrous, and obviously not for economic reasons.

T, 162 ● 792 To 847 162

As regards the demographic reasons, the following statistics will show that there is not always an excess of males over females. In the Leh *tehsil* in Ladak, where I was, there are 14,760 men to 14,650 women, which is approximately equal. The excess of single women among the Tibetans (there are some left over, naturally, considering the number of brothers who have one wife) usually go into a monastery and become nuns. That is the way they solve their problem. The Todas, on the other hand, practise female infanticide, so that there are less women than men. However, back in Tibet, in the same town of Leh, one finds that the Hindus who live there number 36 men and 13 women, and yet they are monogamous. In southern India, there is a Moslem community known as the Moplahs, in which there are five men to one woman, and they are polygynous rather than polyandrous. Even in Europe, the Bulgars have 35,000 more men than women and yet, though they may have many faults, they certainly are not polyandrous.

To 162

As far as the Todas are concerned, out of the 600-odd that exist, there are 340 men and 237 women, so that it really looks as if the reason given might be true in

Tibetan Nomads

000 342 563 the Indian plains. I also came across the first tent-dwelling nomads, miserable people living in their black yak-hair tents, the latter standing like spiders because of their strange construction in which the supporting poles and sticks are placed outside instead of inside the cloth.

361 When I arrived at our destination, I was taken into camp by the *goba* and his nephew (see Appendix 1, Narrative of journeys). There I found [233] [563] some more black Tibetan tents, in among flocks of sheep and herds of yaks (*gYag*), animals from which our hosts made their living. I put up our tent next to the largest tent of all, which was that of the *goba*.

[133] The camp was situated on a large, flat expanse of grass, surrounded by snow-clad hills, and the altitude was 14,500 feet. The plateau came to an abrupt end to the east and, beyond it, I could see the vast expanse of the brackish waters of Tso Moriri which is fifteen miles long. I was [792] not able to see the monastery from where I was because it was hidden by a fold in the ground; it stood on the edge of the lake below, beneath the sudden overhang of the high plateau above. There was a large white *chöten* at this spot which gave the direction in which the *gompa* lay.

792 This monastery, called Korzok gompa (*dKor-rDzogs dGon-pa*) is one of the highest anywhere on the Tibetan plateau. It derives its livelihood [441] [243] from the revenue which it acquires from the summer visits of nomads from Tibet, from subsidies which it receives from the monasteries upon which it is dependant in Bhutan (for it belongs to the Drug-pa or Kagyut-pa sect, like those in Lahul), from the commercial activities of its abbot and monks who all indulge in trade, and from its agricultural efforts which, as I saw with astonishment, consist in growing barley, in spite of the altitude, and harvesting it during the short summer season from June to the middle of August.

The chief lama, a *tulku* (*sPrul-sKu*) or Incarnation, whom I had met on the way up to the Rupchu plateau, is called Lang-na Rimpoche (*gLang sNa Rin-po-ch'he*), meaning "Precious Elephant Trunk". He exerts considerable religious influence on the nomadic population which congregates every summer round his residence, and, at that time, he and the *goba* were actually the most important people in the area.

563 [101] The nomads are called in Tibetan either Chang-pa (*Byang-pa*) because they inhabit the high northern plains, the Chang T'hang (*Byang-T'hang*), or Drok-pa (*aBrog-pa*) meaning "pastoral ones". Those whom I saw at Korzok normally live in the lower province of Tibet proper, Ngari Korsum, just north of where we were. During the summer, they [631] [651] come up to Kashmir to graze their flocks and herds, and here enter into contact with the men from Lahul. Their animals belong to the *goba*

The sexes divide agricultural work among themselves in such 105
a way that the ploughing, transport and marketing of goods is done by 439
the men, while the women milk the cows and *dzos*, feed them, sow and [462]
weed the fields. Trading further afield is the responsibility of the men, [241]
and, as everywhere in areas of Tibetan culture, they do not hesitate to [234]
undertake great journeys of many thousands of miles lasting months [484]
and in some cases years. Apricots are a great speciality of Ladak, exported in dry form far and wide, and enjoying a great reputation as being of the best variety.

Borax is produced in Rupchu, and salt comes from evaporation of 105
the brackish waters of the lakes. There is a certain amount of gold, [258]
too, to be found in the rivers, and in some parts it is even mined, as it [317]
is further afield in the Ngari Korsum province of Tibet. [316]

6. *Leh*

Leh (spelt *sLa* in Tibetan) is a large village situated at an altitude of 361
11,503 feet, in the Indus valley, some distance from the river, on the right bank, high up in a side valley, where the water from glacier formations above enters the ground to run subterraneously down to the main
stream. Below it, close to the river bank, is Spituk (*sPitug*) with its [792]
ancient monastery on a stone hillock, dominating the plain.

The population of Leh is certainly much greater now than it was 162
then. In 1938, it was only 2,377, and it was divided up into the same 795
religious denominations as we have seen earlier for the whole of Ladak. There were 1,287 Buddhists (with the same reservations concerning low castes as before), 991 Mohammedans, 43 Sikhs Hindus and 56 Christians.

The Buddhists, it can be seen, constituted the vast majority. They were all those Ladakis of Tibetan affinity, whose mongoloid features made them immediately and easily recognizable. Among them, there were reported to be 650 men to 637 women.

The Moslems included Kashmiris from the valley, Turki, Uigur and Yarkandi traders from Sinkiang in Central Asia, Argons or those whose fathers had taken local Ladaki women as wives, and a few Baltis from the neighbouring sub-division. There were 447 men to 544 women in this religious community. Among the Hindus and Sikhs there were 30 men to 13 women. The community was only a temporary one made up
of officials and employees of the Kashmir State. The Christians were [797]
all converts of the Moravian Mission, 31 men to 25 women. Leh is the principal station of this Mission in Western Tibet, with another station in Kalatse, lower down the Indus.

595 425 428 888 such as cattle, sheep and goats in small quantities. Its dwellers also have household utensils and movable property such as furniture. These things, the size of the house, and the amount of fields and animals, vary from household to household, but are fixed quantities within each one individually; they do not change but remain the same for every succeeding generation.

595 425 428 [851] The elder son or daughter who has acquired ownership of the *k'hang-chen* takes over full proprietorship, which includes not only the rights that go with it, but also the obligations. Thus, an elder son has to look after his younger brothers, maintain them whatever their behaviour, be it good or bad (he may never disinherit them), share his wife with them and look upon the children born to him as just as much theirs as his own. Younger brothers are at liberty to leave and contract marriages elsewhere if they so wish; in actual fact, they often do become *mag-pas* of heiresses, in which case they forfeit their rights to property in the
[792] *k'hang-chen* of their elder brother. Sometimes, they become lamas and join some monastery, in which case they are entitled to retain their share or give it up, as they please.

595 796 The owner of the *k'hang-chen* must see to it that the monthly *lha-bsang* (*lHa-bSang* (*aBras*)) or "god meal (of rice)" ceremony is performed. This takes place on the 10th of each month – and sometimes on the 8th too. Occasionally, a neighbour will help by holding the rite in his house for both households, and vice-versa. The New Year Tibetan festival must also be observed, as well as those agricultural feasts which occur at sowing time in February and March (*sa-kag*, *ma-zhing*) and at the harvest in October (*sGrub-lha*).

595 651 An obligation exists also to white-wash *chötens* and *mani*-walls regularly, and for some, to do the same to the walls of the castle at Leh. Death rites must be carried out, tax paid to the Kashmir government (which holds only the owner of the *k'hang-chen* responsible for this) as well as various dues and *ulag* or *begar* (forced, unpaid labour) acquitted
595 586 to those to whom it is owed (government, monasteries). Divorced sisters who return home must be looked after (they have the right to live in the *k'hang-chen* and do not go to the *k'hang-gu*), and younger sons who go to Lhasa for studies and employment must have their expenses paid by the head of the family.

595 591 888 My informant, Nono Tse P'hün, told me that he had seen households in which not only the parents lived in a *k'hang-gu*, but also grandparents and even great-grandparents. In Likir, there was in 1953 a great-grandfather who had outlived everyone in the various *k'hang-gus* on

on the other hand, the divorce occurs at the request of the *bag-ma* wife 586
or of the *mag-pa* husband, the equivalent in money of a horse will be given to the injured party. This is called *P'ho-skyur-ta* (*P'ho-bSkyur-rTa*) or "man thrown out horse". During the reign of the Tibetan kings of Western Tibet, real horses and cows were handed over. But with the accession of the Dogra masters, Wazir-i-Wazarat Akbar Ali Shah, [435]
who ruled in Ladak in the early 1870s, converted the value of these animals into cash, a horse being estimated as worth Rs. 25, and a cow Rs. 12/8/–. Henceforward, compensation had to be paid in money and no longer in kind.

Extra-marital relations do occur in Ladak among polyandrous peo- 837
ple, but on the whole all my informants, including the Reverend W. Asboe, were very insistant that those who practised polyandry were more "moral" than the others who did not. They meant by this, that [626]
the pressure of public opinion upon remaining faithful to the custom and not departing from what was expected of those living matrimonially in this fashion was very great and, usually, very effective in enforcing the rule.

In spite of this, it could not be said that departures from this moral [792]
rule did not occur. Lamas who had taken vows of celibacy, such as the Gelug-pas for instance, were known occasionally to get involved in illicit love affairs. A woman who was thus a partner to the strayings of a lama was known as a *la-dud* (*bLa-aDrud*), "dragger away of lama".

Unmarried girls who took lovers might be forced to marry them, if 836
the man was unmarried. If he was already wed, he might have to divorce 837
and marry the girl, or simply give her the necessary means of livelihood. Should she have a child by him, she would be turned out of her family's [848]
house and beaten, and the man would, in most instances, be obliged to marry her. The only exception could occur if he should already be married and have children, when he would have to arrange for the upkeep of his paramour and her child. As it was, this did not happen very often, all young girls normally being chaperoned when they attended public festivals. It was here that lovers met, it was admitted, but it would be difficult for an unmarried daughter, properly accompanied, to start an intrigue in this way.

Women living in polyandry did have lovers, I was told, because they 837
did not always feel the affection which they should have for their many 684
husbands. A *bag-ma* wife caught in the act would be beaten, driven out of the house and divorced, if she was not yet a mother. If she had children, she would not be driven away, but her paramour would be

837 beaten and obliged to pay compensation to the outraged husbands.
684 Sometimes, I heard, the lover, assisted by friends, resisted and a fight
ensued, in which the husbands' party might also be reinforced by friends
and relatives. In the end a third party would be brought in to arbitrate
and fix the amount of compensation due, if adultery was satisfactorily
proved.

837 In the case of a *mag-pa* wife, or a *mag-pa* husband, I have already
mentioned above, in what I wrote on divorce proceedings, what the
correct behaviour is in cases of the partners' infidelity.

As a rule, immorality is something that attempts are made to conceal,
and scandals do not occur often because everyone always tries to hush
them up. One of the chief difficulties that has to be faced, if such a
case becomes known and has to be dealt with in the glare of public
knowledge, is the problem of property. A guilty couple will have none
[735] to live on and, unless they can collect sufficient means to buy them-
selves at least a land tenancy, they will become beggars and be forced
to live on grudging public charity.

848 The fate of illegitimate children is also a sad one. In most cases,
851 hushing up the affair consists in considering a child born of an adul-
terous union as one of the family. Abortions are nevertheless often
847 resorted to, and in the case of unmarried girls frequently practised. In
Leh, Moslem barbers are those who perform these operations. Un-
wanted children begotten in this way are often done away with, too, by
the mother simply giving birth to the child near the river, and throwing
[792] it into the water to drown. This is often the case with nuns in monas-
teries, who should be chaste in accordance with their vows. Most il-
848 legitimate children who live to be adult, become lamas or nuns. The
792 principal reason for this is again that they have no property and cannot
736 marry. In this way, they can live off the resources of the monastery.

5. *Dissolution of marriage by death*

595 If the eldest husband of a woman dies, the widow is automatically the
736 official wife of the surviving eldest brother of the deceased, by inheri-
768 tance. No marriage ceremony need be performed. If the woman does
not like to live with this man and his younger brothers as she did during the lifetime of the eldest, but at the same time, does not like to leave the family household or to take yet another husband different from those she has had so far, or, again, if the surviving eldest brother does not wish to keep her as his wife, she is entitled in all these cases, to maintenance by the family. This takes the form of a piece of land

son, Murup, was, however, made Döndrup's heir at the Bata household, 595
so that he came to join his youngest father there, without putting the 601
latter in a *k'hang-gu*. Some time later, he married Palkid of Tarig, and [591]
continued to live with his father in the Bata *k'hang-chen*. This was
some twenty four years ago, and in the meantime, Palkid not having [842]
any children, it was decided that a *porjag* should be called in. The
reason for this was apparently not only because of the wife's sterility.
As in the earlier case at Shing-k'hang-pa, I was told that Döndrup and
Murup were insufficient to cultivate the land, and that another man
was needed. Ishe Paljor of Shing-k'hang-pa household was thus called
in four years before my visit, and duly married to Palkid as her extra
husband. He was certainly a help in working the fields, but he in no
way remedied the barrenness of Murup's wife. She told me that they [597]
were now thinking adopting an heir, but she could not say whom they
had in mind at this early stage.

In the Tsong-k'har-pa household, I heard, there were now three [591]
k'hang-gus: one was that in which Putit, Döndrup's mother, lived (she
was still alive); the other, the one in which Ishe Paljor and Sang-gyä
Tsomo lived (Ishe, the younger brother had died after the polyandrous
marriage); and the third was the quite paradoxical case of Deskid, the
couple's daughter, who had rented one from her brother, Rigzin, who
was now in possession of the *k'hang-chen* with his wife, Tsering of
Shorepa, and their three children. On this rented portion, of which 428
she was a tenant without occupation, she lived with a *mag-pa* whom
she had taken to herself, a certain Tonyot of Azim-pa, and had one boy.
Her share was considered as a split-off portion of the Tsong-k'har-pa
household, and bore the name of Ralwa Tsong-k'har-pa, or "cleft Tsong-k'har-pa".
Her son was apparently considered to be the heir to this
new household, but how this was possible, considering the tenancy was
of so precarious a nature, was not explained to me.

Rigzin and Deskid had a younger brother, Ngawang, who had, however, 595
left the family before his elder brother married, and become a 601
lama at Himis gompa. He was entitled to a share of the family property 992
in accordance with Ladaki customary law, but for the time being
was not claiming it, and lived together with his fellow-monks on the
revenue of the monastery. He was also entitled to share his elder brother's
wife with the latter, his order not being celibate, but it was not
specified whether he did so or not.

Döndrup told us that of his other children, a daughter, now called 595
Aisha, bore that name because she had married a Moslem Ladaki with 601
whom she lived in Leh. 551

595 whom she lived in Leh. Three other daughters, Kundzom, Tsomo and Rolma Putit, were all married out in *bag-ma*, the two first of these, at 601 least, to other families. They were the mistresses, respectively, of the [797] Ragasha and the Azhang-ni-pa households, but their younger sister had married a certain Sang-gyä P'hüntzok who, curiously enough, was a convert to Buddhism from his original Moslem faith, – surely a very rare occurrence. He was employed as a manager of the Himis gompa, where he was in charge of trade and accounts, and made a comfortable [792] living. But he had no household, and no *zhing-kham* to hand down, so that they lived in quarters in the monastery grounds. His conversion was responsible for this; the situation could nevertheless be remedied if he purchased some land and settled on it. The couple had three children, and the succession was thus assured beforehand.

595 114

(ii) *Information gathered concerning the functioning of polyandry in Ladak*

From all these families that I visited with Nono Tseten P'hüntzok between the 30th August and the 18th September 1938, I gathered much information as to the rules of polyandry, and how these marriages functioned.

184 I heard thus of the manner in which polyandry is regulated in Ladak. 595 In many ways, it appeared to be very similar to what I had already learned in Lahul, except that, perhaps because of the climate being colder, there seemed to be less sexual privacy. Another reason for this, probably, was that the Ladaki is more sedentary than the Lahuli and does not leave his home as regularly on commercial trips, so that one alone out of a woman's many husbands remains with her; in Ladak, all the brothers are almost constantly resident in the family house, and it is consequently more difficult to establish a sort of roster between them in their relations with the common wife.

595 Every house in Leh has a large common room, well heated because 342 the kitchen fireplace is either in it or close by, in another smaller room [354] which communicates with it. This room is the one in which the entire family of the *k'hang-chen* lives during the long winter months, the one in which everything goes on all day and all night, eating, sleeping, procreation and the like. Its name is the *Jan-sa* (*Byan-sa*), which means "kitchen place", and I was told that the main reason for which everybody lives here in winter, herded together, is because it is warm and there is not enough fuel to heat the other rooms in the house.

595 833 Of course, it is not a rule that public mating in the *Jan-sa* takes place.

880 culcated into future herdsmen at this time, while others learned a trade.

872 Those children who were put in monasteries, either boys or girls, were usually sent there at the respective ages of eight and fourteen. The 792 boys became lamas and were put through a very severe period of probation. They were attached to a master whom they had to serve completely, as if they were his body-servant. [876] Frequent corporal punishment was meted out to them and this was quite usual – in fact it was a perfectly correct thing to do, and many jokes had to do with the way in which a master gave his pupil a correction with a whip, on the slightest pretext, when he felt that he had not been attentive to his merest whim. In nunneries, very much the same happened, except that relations between elders and probationers were not so acute. A girl was usually trained by a *jetsün-ma* (*rJe-bTsun-ma*), or senior nun, before becoming a *cho-mo (Jo-mo)* or ordinary nun, and the relation between the two women was of a much less brutal nature.

595 (iii) *Reasons given for the existence of polyandry in Ladak*

428 The consensus of opinion among the informants in the various polyandrous households that I visited about why they followed this particular type of matrimonial custom, was that it was the only way to avoid dividing up the property and thus being impoverished in a bleak and arid land. I was also told, as a secondary reason, that it enabled a household to obtain the sufficient labour that it needed to cultivate the fields; where many brothers inherited the property jointly, and took one wife in common, they could easily cope with the work to be done, as there were enough hands to do it.

595 Only once did I hear that there might be yet another reason beyond these for which polyandry was followed by the Buddhist Ladakis of Tibetan affinity. It was on the 30th September 1938, near Ridzong, when we met a bandit from Tibet proper, called Norgyäs. He told me that polyandry was practised by Tibetans so as to avoid the wives of the brothers quarrelling. Peace in the house, according to him, could only be obtained if there was only one wife in the family.

595 114 The Reverend Walter Asboe was of the opinion that it was a blessing that polyandry existed among the Buddhists. In so poor and difficult an environment, he said, another matrimonial system would probably only lead either to strife over the obtention of food, or to widespread famine. In this, he was only echoing what previous Moravian missionaries as well as many authors have said when speaking or writing about the customs of the people in Ladak.

so, especially when, in Kyelang, I had discovered significant psychological 114
disorders in members of polyandrous households. In Ladak, the 158
information that I gathered was not quite as sensational, but it confirmed
to a large extent what I already knew now about the psychopathology
of the people of these regions.

My first such visit was to the Kashmir State hospital in Leh on the 164
30th August, 1938. There I met the chief physician in charge, a Dogra [115]
medical officer called Dr. M. S. Diwani. He told me that venereal [743]
diseases were, as usual, the dominant illnesses which he had to treat.
He attributed their wide distribution in Ladak to contacts with Moslem
traders from Sinkiang, who passed them on through the intermediary
of the temporary wives which they took from the local, Buddhist population.
Extra to digestive troubles due to a diet of excessive tea and 158
chang drinking, there were many cases of epilepsy and hysteria. The 164
former sickness seemed mostly to plague Moslem women, while the latter
was the perogative of single Buddhist women and nuns in the nunnerise.
They got attacks usually during their menstrual periods, and
nearly always at night. The cure for these afflictions was in the hands [755]
of the *amchis*, who cauterized the head of the patient in prescribed places.

There was much osteomelitis about, Dr. Diwani said, and it was due 164
to the *purdah* habits of Moslem women, because they did not get sufficient
sun. The Buddhist women who worked on the fields never suffered
from this illness. He knew of no cases of impotence or frigidity, [833]
as no one had been to see him for such ailments. There was madness [158]
in the area, the most significant case being that of the *Tulku* (*sPrul-sKu*)
or Incarnation of Tikse Gompa (see *The Mad Tulku of Tikse* by the
same author, Stepping Stones, Kalimpong, 1950). To my question as 838
to whether he knew of homosexuality in Ladak, Dr. Diwani said that 792
it was widespread in the monasteries, where the relations between master
and novice were universally known to take on that character.

On the 1st September 1938, when I visited the Gad-po-pa (*rGad-po-pa*) 158
household, and made its genealogy (see p. 368), I took advan- 164
tage of my talk with the informant Chond who, it will be recalled, was [115]
an *amchi* or native doctor, to enquire from him about his practice.
He told me that he had many cases of giddiness to deal with, and he
attributed this to bad diet in the case of the men, and to irregularities
in the menses of women. There were no cases of impotence or frigidity, [833]
as far as he knew, but many of anxiety and hysteria, which he had to
treat, nearly always, in women. They were mainly to be found among 158
single women and nuns, and often took the form of nervous blindness [753]

158 and deafness for certain periods of time. He attributed this to devils
[753] which possessed the individual concerned, and he, personally, tried to
cure them by cauterization of the head. If this did not help, the patients
[755] were advised to visit the lamas, who gave the religious formulas to eat,
or carried out exorcisms over them. Chonde showed me his cauterization instruments and a chart which guided him as to where to apply the red-hot irons.

[115] The Reverend Walter Asboe, whose Moravian Mission ran a small
[743] dispensary and hospital in the Mission House in Leh, was also informative about nervous ailments in the town. He said that men did come
[164] to be cured of impotence, but that they were nearly all physical cases
[833] and definitely not mental ones. As it was, it was not living in polyan-
548 dry which made them impotent, for if the common wife was not to their
[595] liking, they could always seek relief with some of the numerous prosti-
[795] tutes that were to be found in Leh. All of these professionals, he said, were Moslems, not Buddhists, and were usually recruited from among the temporary wives, converted to Mohammedanism by the Yarkandi traders, surplus women left over by the polyandry of the Buddhist Ladakis.

[158] The Reverend Asboe had come across no cases of frigidity in women,
[795] but, on the contrary, he knew of many cases of nymphomania. Again,
[833] this affliction was to be found among the Moslem women converts, never among the polyandrous wives of the Buddhist households. He
838 had also heard that homosexuality was prevalent in the monasteries,
792 and since, he said, Jaeschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* contained all the numerous Tibetan terms for various sexual perversions, it seemed from this that these were widespread throughout Ladak.

[115] Nono Tse-P'hün, as my principal interpreter and informant, was of an opposite opinion. He said that homosexuality was a punishable offence in Kashmiri law, and therefore did not exist in Ladak. It was looked upon with great disfavour anyhow, by the Ladakis, and he felt sure that no one indulged in it, not even in the monasteries. In Tibet, it was another matter, he added, and it was known that it was practised in the large monasteries of Central Tibet, as any monk returning from Lhasa or Shigatse where he had gone for his studies could tell.

296 With regard to prostitution, this is the place perhaps, to mention
171 what Joseph Gergan once told me about the smoking of tobacco. I had asked him on the 14th October 1938, in Kargil, as we were travelling together towards the Kashmir capital, Srinagar, how it was that in the whole of Tibet and in areas under the cultural influence of that country,

Stanzin Kündzom refused to speak during the whole interview. I 595
tried to draw her out at the beginning, but she made it perf[illegible]y clear 124
at once that she would only say something if I paid her then and there.
Not wishing to do this for fear of setting a bad example and creating
a precedent, we carried on with her husband who was somewhat more
accommodating, and eventually gave him a monetary reward when we
had finished, for which he expressed his thanks.

That same morning, Joseph and I went on to another polyandrous
family of Mulbek, called *Yoktso-pa* (*gYog-Ts'hogs-pa*) (Table 37).
These people, who appeared to be as poor and as suspicious of us as
the others but were slightly more accommodating in that they did admit [591]
to being polyandrous, lived in a *k'hang-gu* in which there were two
brothers married to one wife, and in a *k'hang-chen*, the inhabitants of
which were the two sons of the former and their common wife, young
people who had only recently been married and did not yet have any
children.

Tsewang, the eldest of the older generation, acted as the informant, 595
but his brother, Tsewang Paljor, and their common wife, Nordzom 601
Rolma, assisted him greatly. These people told us that their parents, [115]
Paljor their father, and Skidzom their mother, had died some years ago,
and that they were consequently occupying the *k'hang-gu* now themselves,
since the marriage of their grown-up children. Their eldest sister,
Tseten, was married away in *bag-ma* to three brothers in a household
called Alea-pa, while the second sister, also elder to them, Chosang
Rolma, was a nun. This woman was present at the interview, and we 792●
heard that she was normally resident at Himis gompa, but that she 782
often came home on visits. She had no particular inclination to be a 595
nun, it seemed, since she had been sent to the monastery by her parents 601
when, as a child, she had nearly died, and they had made a vow that
if she recovered, they would dedicate her to Himis.

The informant and his brother, together with their common wife, 595
Nordzom Rolma, had had three children, two boys, Sonam Wangyal 601
and Tsewang Tashi, and one daughter, born between these two, called
Tashi Pal-mo. The latter was married off to Tashi Sonam of Shak-pa
Household, while the two boys had a wife in common, whom they had
married recently. Her name was Tashi Kidzom, and they lived with
her in the *k'hang-chen*, which they had just taken over. They had been
married too short a time to have children yet, and that is all that the
words "no issue" mean in the genealogical table.

It had not been too difficult here, to find out that these people were [792]

595 polyandrous, thus giving the lie to those of Skya-pa household who said
601 that no one was polyandrous in Mulbek. But, all the same, the Yoktso-
792 pa family did hide something from me, which I would never have heard about had it not been for Joseph Gergan. As we were returning to our camp, he mentioned to me that he knew that Tsewang and Tsewang Paljor shared their wife, Nordzom Rolma, with yet another brother of theirs, who was a Red-hat, unreformed *Nying ma-pa* sect lama. And as we passed down the street away from the household we had just visited, I noticed a monk, clad in the usual red clothes, coming out of a house close-by, and immediately entering another one, as if he did not wish to be seen by us. Joseph pointed him out to me, and told me that this was the man. He lived in the local monastery in the town, and was maintained by it; but he had not given up his share of the family property when he left, and he was still closely associated with his brothers. Not being obliged by the rules of his order to observe celibacy, he shared the common wife, Nordzom Rolma, with them. It was remarkable how the family had not wished to let us know this, and had even witheld mentioning the existence of the lama brother. Joseph did not know his name, so that I was unable to put it down in the genealogy. He was younger than the two other men, and I have consequently shown him after them for this reason.

595 During the day, investigating the rumour and counter rumour con-
177 cerning a *porjag* in the Skya-pa household, I heard that no such an in-
842 stitution existed west of the P'hoto-la, the last pass which we had crossed before reaching Mulbek. Asked why this was so, Joseph was told in the village that it was because it was an immoral practice which should not be encouraged. Once again, this appeared to me to be an indication of the effects of culture contact, the people in this frontier area being ashamed of the custom of calling a man in when they had failed to have issue with a woman's other husbands, as is the practice further east in Ladak. The Moslems, however, insisted that *porjags* existed in secret, and assured us that the Buddhists who denied this were not telling the truth.

PART II

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THE POLYANDRY OF THE TIBETANS OF TIBET PROPER

In Appendix 1, will be found the account of how we went from Kashmir to Kalimpong in Bengal for the first time in 1938, and returned

T 595 114 [184] during all my field work, both before and after World War II, with data and recorded facts which now make it possible for me to affirm without any hesitation that polyandry between father and sons is practised in Tibet, particularly in the two central provinces of Ü and Tsang, where it is most widespread. The following is the history of the progress of my investigation, which started with the collection of information from those who knew about the custom and ended with my actually meeting cases and interviewing them to find out how the arrangement functions.

T WT 595 I began in Lahul. It will be recalled that when I visited that valley, on the 21st of June, 1938, Thakur Partap Chand took me to see a polyandrous family in a house called Barun-pa (see above page 312–312). I took advantage of the cordiality which the Wazir of Lahul showed towards me to question him on the subject of the polyandry of fathers and sons about which I had heard from Dr. Kanshi Ram.

The informant immediately confirmed its existence and said that it was common knowledge, even in his part of the world, that, in Central Tibet, fathers and sons share a common wife in the same family, although the woman in this case must never be the mother of the boys. WT [186] Nevertheless in Lahul the custom appeared rather strange and even repulsive, and it was quite usual for Tibetans from Tibet proper to be laughed at for this form of matrimony by the local inhabitants. They were accused of being "step-mother sharing people" which was meant WT [525] [777] as an insult. But at the same time, when playing dice, it was the custom to evoke such a shared step-mother as a means of bringing good luck to the thrower. When a seven was wanted, for instance, a special formula evoking the step-mother shared by both fathers and sons was repeated several times.

WT 595 Another confirmation of the true existence of polyandry between fathers and sons in Tibet was obtained from the Reverend F. A. Peter of the Moravian Mission in Kye-lang on the 24th of June, 1938. He told me that the institution existed when the Mission was established in Lahul in 1854 as ancient records showed. At the time that his father, the late Bishop Peter, was appointed to the Lahuli capital in 1898, there were still some cases of this special form of polyandry to be found in the valley. The Reverend Peter said that he had heard that it had not yet died out in Spiti, although it was difficult to make sure because the local people kept it secret and unavowed. WT [792] [428] (As far as I know, polyandry in general is not officially practised in Spiti, the surplus males of a family becoming monks while the eldest alone inherits the family property. A certain amount of clandestine polyan-

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[555] account of distinguished ability. It is also interesting to note
175* that on the death, in 1614, of the fourth Grand Lāma of the
792* Ge-lug-pa (named Yön-tan), whom he had ordained, he was
775 installed in the abbotship at Gāh-ldan monastery, and in 1622, at
661 the age of 53, he initiated, as fifth Grand Lāma, the infant Ṅa-pa, who was then seven years old, and who afterwards became the great Dalai Lāma.

And he continued to be the spiritual father and close friend and adviser of Ṅa-pa, and seems to have begun those political negotiations which culminated in the cession of Tibet to his *protégé*. When he died, in 1662, his spiritual son Ṅa-pa, who was 47 years old, and had been 22 years in the kingship, promptly re-incarnated him, and also made him out to be his own spiritual father, even as regards the divine emanation theory. Thus the new-born babe was alleged to be an incarnation of Avalokita's spiritual father, Amitābha, the Buddha of Boundless Light; and he was given a considerable share in the management of the established church. This, however, merely perpetuated the relations which had actually existed between these two Grand Lāmas as father and son, and which had worked so well, and had such
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obvious political advantages in providing against interregnums.

175* In the hierarchical scheme of succession by re-incarnate Lāmas,
792* the Lhāsa Grand Lāma, who wields the sovereign power, thus gave himself the highest place, but allotted the Tashi-lhunpo Grand Lāma a position second only to his own. Below these come the other re-incarnate Lāmas, ranking according to whether they are regarded to be re-embodiments of Indian or of Tibetan saints. The former class are called "the higher incarnations" or Tul-Ku,[1] and by the Mongols *Khutuktu*. They occupy the position of cardinals and archbishops. The lowest re-incarnate Lāmas are regarded as re-embodiments of Tibetan saints, and are named ordinary *Tul-ku* or "*Ku-s'o*,"[2] or by the Mongols Khublighan or Hoblighan; these mostly fill the post of abbots, and rank one degree higher than an ordinary non-re-incarnate abbot, or *K'an-po*, who has been selected on account of his proved abilities. Most of

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[1] *sPrul-sku.*

[2] *sKu-s'ogs.* The use of the term for a re-incarnate Lāma seems restricted to Ladāk. In Tibet proper this title is applied to any superior Lāma, and is even used in polite society to laymen of position.

Bhutan AK2
W. Tibetans AJ4

Each of these Grand Lāmas has a separate biography (or *nam-t'ar*). The first, who was a contemporary of the Grand Lāma Sonam Gya-tshô, seems to have been married; the rest are celibate. A celebrated Lāma of this Dug-pa sect was named Mi-pam ch'os-Kyi gyal-po. B 792

The Dharma Rāja resides, at least in summer, at the fort of Ta-shi-ch'o. The palace is a large stone building, with the chief house seven storeys high, described and figured by Turner and others. Here live over five hundred monks. B [346]

Bogle describes the Lāma of his day as "a thin, sickly-looking man of about thirty-five years of age."[1]

He exercises, I am informed, some jurisdiction over Lāmas in Nepal, where his authority is officially recognized by the Gorkha government. B [648]

The number of the lesser spiritual chiefs held to be re-embodied Lāma saints is stated[2] to be one hundred and sixty, of which thirty are in Tibet (twelve being "Shaburuṅ"), nineteen in north Mongolia, fifty-seven in south Mongolia, thirty-five in Kokonor, five in Chiamdo and the Tibetan portion of Sze-ch'wan, and fourteen at Pekin. But this much under-estimates the number in Tibet. B 162

Amongst the re-embodied Lāmas in western Tibet or Tsang are Seṅ-c'en-Rin-po-ch'e,[3] Yaṅzin Lho-pa, Billuṅ, Lô-ch'en, Kyi-zar, Tiṅki, De-ch'an Alig, Kaṅla, Koṅ (at Phagri). In Kham, Tu, Ch'amdo, Derge, etc. WT 792 775

The Lāmaist metropolitan at Pekin is called by the Tibetans "lC'aṅ-skya," and is considered an incarnation of Rol-pahī Dorje. His portrait is given in the annexed figure. He dates his spiritual descent from a dignitary who was called to Pekin during the reign 000

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[1] MARKH., p. 27.

[2] In the Sheng Wu Ki, and registered by the Colonial Board at Pekin. (MAYER) *J.R.A.S.*, vi., p. 307.

[3] The last re-incarnate Lāma bearing this title, and the tutor of the Tashi Grand Lāma, was beheaded about 1886 for harbouring surreptitiously Sarat C. Das, who is regarded as an English spy; and although the bodies of his predecessors were considered divine and are preserved in golden domes at Tashi-lhunpo, his headless trunk was thrown ignominiously into a river to the S.W. of Lhāsa, near the fort where he had been imprisoned. On account of his violent death, and under such circumstances, this re-incarnation is said to have ceased. From the glimpse got of him in Sarat's narrative and in his great popularity, he seems to have been a most amiable man.

000 of K'ang Hi, probably about 1690-1700 A.D., and entrusted with the emperor's confidence as his religious vicegerent for inner Mongolia.[1]

WT 792 775 In Ladāk only four monasteries have resident re-incarnate Lāmas or *Ku-s'o*. Although they are of the red sect, these head Lāmas are said to be educated at Lhāsa. The present (1893) re-incarnate Lāma of Spitak, the seventeenth of the series, is thus described by Captain Ramsay.[2] "A youth, 26 years of age, who lately returned from Lhāsa, where he had been for 14 years. He was handsomely dressed in a robe made of a particular kind of dark golden-coloured and yellow embroidered China silk, which none but great personages are allowed to wear, and he had on Chinese long boots, which he did not remove when he entered the house. His head and face were closely shaved, and one arm was bare. On entering the room he bowed, and then presented the customary 'scarf of salutation,' which I accepted. He impressed me very favourably; his manner and general appearance was superior to anything I had seen among other Lāmas or people of Ladāk."

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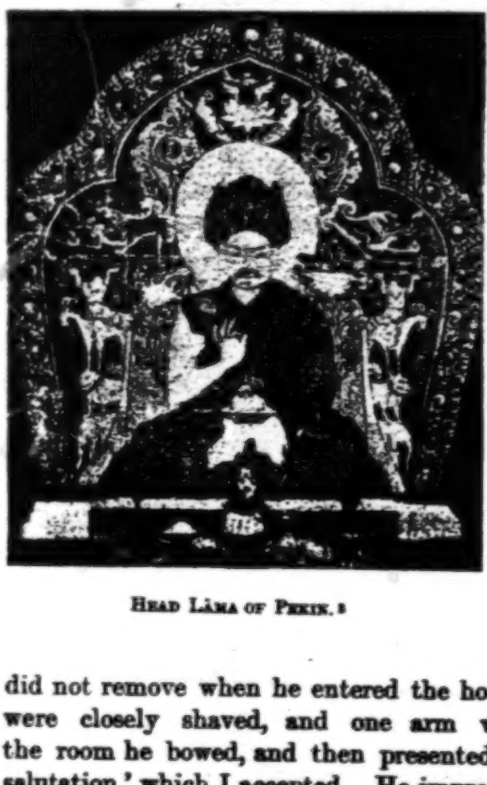
WT [292]



HEAD LĀMA OF PEKIN.[3]

S 792 775 In Sikhim, where few Lāmas are celibate and where the La-brang Lāma is the nominal head of the fraternity with the title of "Lord protector" (*s*Kyab *m*Gon), the fiction of re-incarnation was only practised in regard to the Pemiongchi and La-brang

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[1] *E.K.* 21, Pand., No. 53.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 69.
[3] After Grünwedel.

000 built on the declivity in horizontal lines one above the other, resemble the steps of an enormous altar, of which the temple of Tāranātha Lāma appears to constitute "the tabernacle." Huc says it contains 30,000 monks!

Kuku Khotun, or "blue city," near the northern bend of the Yellow river, is said by Huc to have formerly been the seat of Jetsun-Dam-pa. It contains five monasteries with about 20,000 Lāmas.

IN SIBERIA.

In south Siberia, amongst the Buriats, near the Baikal lake, a large monastery is on a lake thirty versts to the north-west of Selinginsk, and the presiding monk is called the K'an-po Paṇḍita, and claims to be a re-incarnate Lama.[1]

IN EUROPE.

The Kālmak Tartars on the Volga have only temporary, nomadic cloisters and temples, that is to say tents, in which they put up their holy pictures and images, and celebrate divine service. Such temporary cloisters are called "Churull," and consist of two different sorts of tents or *Jurten* (Oergö), the assembly hall of the clergy (Churullün-Oergö) and of the gods and image hall (*Schitäni* or *Burchanün-Oergö*). Some of these *Churulls* contain a hundred priests.

IN LADĀK AND LITTLE TIBET.

● 792 HE-MI (or "Himis" of survey map). This fine old monastery is
361 situated about 11,000 feet above the sea-level, in a lateral ravine that joins the Indus, a day's journey (eighteen miles SSE.) above Leh, on the left bank of that river. From its secluded position this was one of the few monasteries which escaped destruction on the invasion of the country by the Dogras under Wazir Gerawar, who ruthlessly destroyed much Lāmaist property, so that more interesting and curious objects, books, dresses, masks, etc., are found at Himis than in any other monastery in Ladāk. It was built by sTag-stan-ras-ch'en, and its
[796] proper title is *Ch'aṅ-ch'ub sam-liṅ.*

The "Himis-fair," with its mask plays, as held on St. Padma-sam-
[423] bhava's day in summer, is the chief attraction to sight-seers in Ladāk. This Lāmasery is at present still the greatest landowner in Ladāk, and its steward one of the most influential persons in the country. The Lāmas seem to be of the Ñiṅ-ma sect (according to Marx[2] they are Dug-pa, but he appears to use Dug-pa as synonymous with *Red cap* sect). To the same sect also belongs Ts'en-re and sTag-na. A fine photograph of this monastery is given by Mr. Knight,[3] and one of its courts is shown in his illustration of the mystic play reproduced at p. 528
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"The principal entrance to the monastery is through a massive door,
346 from which runs a gently sloping and paved covered way leading into a

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[1] KÖPPEN, *op. cit.*

[2] *Loc. cit.*, 138.

[3] *Where Three Empires Meet.*

10: Waddell S-3 (no date) 1895 AJ1 Tibet
W. TIBETANS 434

courtyard about 30 × 40 yards square, having on the left hand a narrow 792
verandah, in the centre of which stands the large prayer-cylinder
above mentioned. The larger picturesque doorway, the entrance of one 346
of the principal idol rooms, is in the extreme right hand corner, massive
brass rings affixed to large *bosses* of brass are affixed on either door, the
posts of which are of carved and coloured woodwork. The walls of the 792
main building, with its bay windows of lattice work, enclose the court-
yard along the right hand side, the roof is adorned with curious cylin- 346
drical pendant devices made of cloth called "Thook"; each surmounted
with the Trisool or trident, painted black and red. On the side facing 778
the main entrance the courtyard is open, leading away to the doorways of other idol rooms. In the centre space stand two high poles "Turpoche," from which hang yaks' tails and white cotton streamers printed in the Tibetan character. Innumerable small prayer-wheels are fitted into a hitch that runs round the sides of the courtyard. A few large trees throw their shade on the building, and above them tower the rugged cliffs of the little valley, topped here and there by *Lhatos*, small square-built altars, surmounted by bundles of brushwood and wild sheep horns, the thin sticks of the brushwood being covered with offerings of coloured flags printed with some *mantra* or other.[1]

Lama-Yur-ru, elevation about 11,000 feet.[2] Said to be of the Di- 792
kung sect, as also the monasteries of *s*Gaṅ-noṅ and Shaṅ.

The name Yur-ru is said to be a corruption of Yuṅ-druṅ—the 361
Svastika or mystic fly-foot cross.

Tho-ling or Tho'lding (mt'o-gliṅ), on the upper Sutlej (in map of Turkistan it is Totlingmat, "mat" = "the lower," *i.e.* lower part of the city). It has a celebrated temple in three storeys, said by some to be modelled after that of Budha Gaya, and the *Sham-bha-la Lam-yig* contains a reference to this temple: "It had been built (A.D. 954, Schl.) by the Lo-tsa-wa Rin-zaṅ-po. The Hor (Turks?) burnt it down, but at some later date it was rebuilt, and now, in its lowest compartment, it contains the 'cycle of the collection of secrets.'" Adolph von Schlagintweit visited it.[3]

Theg-Ch'og is a sister-Lāmasery to He-mi, north of the Indus, in a valley which opens out opposite He-mi. Che-de, vulg. Chem-re (survey map: Chim-ray) is the name of the village to which the Lāmasery belongs.

Kor-dzogs in Ladāk, 16,000 feet above the sea (*J.D.*, 11). Tik-za (Thik-se) is said (Marx) to be a Ge-*l*dan (?Ge-lug-pa) monastery, as also those of Saṅ-kar (a suburb of Leh), Likir and Ri-dzoṅ. It is pictured by Mr. Knight.[3]

Wam-le (or "Han-le") in Rukshu, a fine Lāmasery figured by 792
Cunningham. It is about 14,000 feet above sea-level. Its proper
name is De-ch'en, and it was built by the founder of the one at *Hemi*.

Masho is affiliated to Sa-*s*kya.

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[1] Godwin-Austen, *loc. cit.*, p. 72.

[2] Marx, *loc. cit.*; Cunningham, *et. al.*

[3] See Results of Scientific Mission.

10: Waddell S-3 (no date) 1895 AJ1 Tibet
W. TIBETANS AJ4
BHUTAN AK2
SIKKIM AK3

WT
● 792

Spi-t'ug, Pe-tub, or "Pittuk" (sPe-t'ub), a Lāmasery and village on the river Indus, five miles south-west of Leh. The Lāmas belong to the "Ge-ldan-pa" order of Lāmas. The Lāmasery has an incarnated Lāma.

Sher-gal, figured by Knight, *loc. cit.*, p. 127.

Kilang (Kye-lan) in British Lahūl, romantically situated near glaciers, at an elevation of about 12,000 feet.

Gu-ge, where several translations were made over 800 years ago, and still of repute for printing and for its elegant manuscripts.

Kanum, in Kunaor or Kanawar, where Csoma studied. Also Dub-lin, Poyi, and Pangi.

IN NEPAL.

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In Nepal there appear to be no Lāmaist monasteries of any size, at least in the lower valleys. At the principal Buddhist shrines in that country a few resident Lāmas are to be found.

IN BHOTĀN

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In Bhotān the largest monasteries are Tāshi-ch'o-dsong and Pun-t'an or ? "Punakha" (spun-t'an bde-ch'en), each, it is usually said, with over 1,000 monks, though according to other accounts, under 500.

Tashi-ch'o-dsoṅ (bKra-shis ch'os rdson), or "The fortress of the glorious religion," forms the capital of Bhotān and the residence, at least in summer, of the Grand Lāma of Bhotān—the Dharma Rāja and Deb Rāja. It has been visited and described by Manning, Bogle, Turner,[1] Pemberton,[2] etc.

The other chief monasteries in Bhotān, all of the Duk-pa sect, the established church of the country, are: dbU-rgyan rtse, Ba-kro (Pāto or Pāro) 'Bah, rTa-mch'og rgan, Kra-ba-li, Sam-'jin, K'a Ch'ngs-rgan-K'a, Ch'al-p'ug. Of these the first three were formerly Kart'og-pa. In British Bhotān there are a few small monasteries, at Kalimpong, Pedong, etc.

IN SIKHIM.

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In regard to Sikhim, as my information is complete, I give it in detail in tabular form on opposite page.

In addition to the monasteries in this list are several religious buildings called by the people *gömpas*, but by the Lāmas only "temples" (*Lha-k'an*), such as Dé-than, Ke-dum, etc.

The oldest monastery in Sikhim is Dub-de, founded by the pioneer Lāma, Lhatsün Ch'embo. Soon afterwards shrines seem to have been erected at Tashiding, Pemiongchi, and Sang-ṅa-ch'ö-ling over spots consecrated to the Guru, and these ultimately became the nuclei of monas-

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[1] Bogle and Turner in 1774 and 1783. Markham, *op. cit.*

[2] In 1837-38. *Op. cit.*

Shargol is the first village where there is a Buddhist monastery *; it is a small monastery, with but a few Lāmās, attached to the one at Mulbek farther on. We thus see that we are reaching the country of the Buddhists; the people of Shargol are nearly all of that faith, though for some way farther there is a mixture of Muhammadan Baltīs. 792 361 563

In the next march we pass Mulbek (also called Mulbe) and see the monastery, one of some size, and by the road-side a large idol carved in the rock, and then we rise to the easy Pass called Nāmika Lā,† 13,000 feet, a depression in soft (shaly) rock between mountains of limestone. A very easy descent brings us down to a stream that flows direct to the Indus; turning to the right we follow the valley of this stream upwards, and in a few miles we come to Kharbū, a Bhot ‡ village, which makes another stage. 133x 792 361

Thence we continue up the same valley: the mountains on the south of us are high mountains of limestone, which rock makes the chief part of the very lofty ridge beyond. Keeping on towards the east, we rise to a Pass of very similar character to the last, called Fotū Lā; it is 13,400 feet high; the ground is smooth, being composed of shale, but close by, on the south, are the rocky limestone hills; a gentle slope for 2000 feet down a valley that is comparatively open, brings us to Lāmāyūrū. 133x

At Lāmāyūrū we are well among the Buddhists or Bhots. Here is a large monastery built on the summit of cliffs which are partly rocky and partly of alluvial matter; some portions of it are very curiously built on timbers placed across chasms, or joining ridges or pinnacles of the hardened alluvial gravel. The cultivated ground is a narrow strip lying for some length above the sloping valley-bottom. As we continue down, we join the valley of a large stream that flows from Wānla; this is extremely narrow; the path has with difficulty been made along the slope of the hill that rises immediately from the stream; there are cliffs to be passed that have necessitated wooden galleries for the road to go on; this has, however, been constructed with a good deal of skill, and by the [792] 491x 133

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* The word for monastery in the Ladākhī language is *Gonpā*.

† In the Ladākhī language *Lā* means Pass.

‡ The word *Bhot* means Buddhist, or perhaps, more particularly, Buddhist Tibetan. The Ladākhīs are called Bhot both by themselves and their neighbours.

inner high one. This plain is interrupted by cross valleys that, x 133
originating in the higher range, pass through the lower one down 361
to the Indus; the plain thus becomes divided up into wide necks of land. In the first cross valley were several villages, one of them, Timisgām, ending the first stage from Khalsi.

The next day's journey began by the route leading us up a branch of that valley, past some patches of cultivated ground, supporting each its own hamlet, into a narrow dry gulley between rounded hill-surfaces, up which we rose until we came out upon another such neck as we were on the day before. Again there crosses at right angles to the road a ravine which we have to go down into and up again by a zigzag path that gives us several hundred feet of fall and rise. Then a gradual descent brings us to
Himis Shukpā, a noted place. This place is named after a grove 137
of a hundred or two large shukpā, or pencil-cedar, trees which there 778
grow about a stony mound. The girth of several of these trees is six or seven feet, and some that have irregular trunks measure 10 feet and more; they taper quickly upwards, reaching to a height of about 40 feet; it is a holy grove protected by the gods; disease and misfortune are said to overtake those who commit
sacrilege against it. At Himis Shukpā are remains of a fort or 712
tower, which was built by the Sokpos who invaded Ladākh towards 175
the end of the seventeenth century; I was told that they built such towers in many places, and that this was the most westerly of them; its walls are of a kind of gravel or concrete moulded.

From Himis Shukpā we go up over another neck of gravelly 792
ground, and down to another ravine; the waters of this support 361
the village called Yangthang, or "New Plain." This was settled five-and-twenty years ago by a Lāmā, who, by his wisdom and good management, got the main watercourse made, and, having established cultivation, fixed a monastery in the valley, in which there are now seventy Lāmās. The land, which, by grant, is free of Government dues, is cultivated by labourers who receive their food and clothing from the monastery. Two more plateaus, separated by a ravine, making five in this march, had to be crossed before Tarūtse, which we made the halting-place, was reached.

it cannot be seen from the road. On our way we pass Thārū, 133x
a collection of eight or ten houses, with corresponding cultivation; 361
then we cross the last of the plateaus, from which descending
we reach a little garden planted by the roadside for the
shelter of travellers, which is close to the village of Phayāng. [485]
Thence a few miles by the side of the river brought us to Pitak,
the last village before Leh.

All the cultivated spots hitherto met with in Ladākh were 312
watered from side-streams—streams coming almost immediately 133x
from the mountains with a more or less steep fall. But at Pitak the land is irrigated from the Indus itself. For we are here at the beginning of a part of the Indus Valley, where the bottom is wide and is occupied by a flat of alluvium, over which the waters of the main stream can be brought.

At Pitak there is an isolated rock a few hundred feet high, 361
on which all the older buildings are situated. The monastery 792
is on the summit at one end, and there is a fortification—of two 712
towers connected by a double wall—that must have helped to make the rock a strong position. Formerly all the houses were, for protection's sake, built thus high up; this was very commonly the case throughout Ladākh, only in the last generation or so have the people taken generally to building in the plain.

We are now but five miles from Leh, the capital; it is indeed within sight from the summit of the rock; let us from here take a general view of the geographical position of that town.

The river is 10,500 feet above the sea; it is flowing with a 133x
gentle current in a flat, the surface of which is in great part of pebbles only, but here and there it is of such a fine alluvial soil that the people have been able to bring it under cultivation. On the south-west side this low flat is bordered by a stretch of sloping gravelly ground, consisting of a number of coalesced fans that have been deposited by streams having their origin in the mountains on the south—mountains which rise up to 20,000 feet. On the north-east of the river there continues the same great granite ridge, at the foot of which we have been passing; the summit of it is about 12 miles from the Indus, as the crow flies.

133x The line of ridge is from 18,000 to 19,000 feet high. The Passes through it are 17,000 and 18,000 feet.

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133x A valley, coming down from this great central ridge, bounded close by rocky branch-ridges, at the distance of four miles from the river widens, the spurs of the hills both becoming lower and retreating aside, insomuch that there occurs an open space of the form nearly of an equilateral triangle, the side of it five miles in length. The town of Leh is at the apex of this triangle, where the valley begins to widen. Rocky hill-spurs form the sides, the river Indus the base, Pitak being at one end of the base.

This triangular space is not a level; it has a steady, gentle
slope up from the river. Advancing from Pitak we rise, in the
five or six miles, about 1000 feet, the altitude of the town of Leh
[311] being 11,500 feet. The lower part of the slope (of which the
whole consists of a gravelly alluvial deposit) is dry and stony,
but as we go on we come within the tract that the side-stream
has been able to supply with irrigating water, and find a space
of several hundred acres covered with crops.

361 Here, by the farther edge of this cultivated space, on one of
the branch spurs from the hills and spreading on to the plain in
front of it, is built the town of Leh. The most conspicuous object
in it is the palace of the former rulers, an edifice boldly built
up to the height of eight or ten stories from the shoulder of the
spur; a slight in-leaning of the massive walls gives it a great
● [792] look of strength. Higher up, on the same rocky ridge, are the
[712] monastery and the towers of an old fortification. Below, in front
of the palace, houses cover the slope. On the flat beneath is the
newer part of the town. Entering from the direction of Kashmir
we pass through a small gateway and find ourselves in a long,
wide, and straight bazaar, the houses regularly built and uniformly
whitewashed. This has been erected since the Dogrās took the
country, and is now the place that is most frequented. At the
farther end of this bazaar one passes into the old part of the town,
among houses separated by narrow winding passages. As one
rises on to the slope of the hill one meets with a few houses of a

576 [534] to receive me. Besides these, a band of eight red-gowned monks stood on a rocky spur above and gave a loud welcome with their music. Two played on flageolets; two bore cymbals; other two had drums mounted on standards and held up on high, where long curved iron drum-sticks reached to beat them; and the last pair played on long horns, which, too heavy to be held in hand, rested their curved ends on the ground. With this power of sound the eight made wild music among the mountains; the horns droned in a way melancholy and touching, but this strain was relieved by the clashing of the cymbals and the bold sound of the drums, while, through all, the flageolets brought out a more definite melody. At Leh itself all the population came out either to meet us or to see the crowd that met us. The hundreds of Ladākhīs —for numbers that are reckoned by hundreds make an unusual concourse in these thinly-peopled parts—the men of the numerous other races that collect at Leh, the eagerness of all to see me, and their respectful salutations of welcome, made, with the scene of the strange-looking town, with its edging of green gardens and cornfields, surrounded close by rocky hills, with lofty mountains in the farther view around, in the brightness and freshness of summer morn, a scene which I recall with pleasure—with pleasure more unmixed than that which a like assemblage gave me on the later day when with regret I said farewell to Leh, to the Ladākhīs I had for a time ruled over, and to the men I had worked with—a lowering winter's day that not in vain threatened snow—as they accompanied me for some miles down the road on my first march towards home.

MONASTERIES AND LĀMĀS.

792 361 In nearly every village, in some parts of Ladākh in every village, is a monastery of greater or less importance; it sometimes holds but one or two Lāmās or monks, sometimes it is the home of hundreds. The monasteries are the most conspicuous buildings in the country; they are always somewhat apart from the houses of the village; they are often situated in high places difficult of access—on a spur of the mountain or on an isolated

rock, or they may lie in a nook, under the shelter of a lofty 792
cliff. At the entrance of a monastery are fixed prayer- 361
cylinders; sometimes a courtyard is fitted with them on all sides.
These are cylinders with a vertical axis, turning on a pivot; [788]
they are furnished inside with a paper on which holy names are
written; the making of these revolve is reckoned an act of de-
votion. In the case of the larger, heavy, cylinders, it is helped by
rings being attached, which enable the devotee to give a good
impetus to his prayer.* Past these one enters into the [778]
image-room; this is generally a fine lofty square chamber, the
centre-space of which is supported by columns of wood. Here are
kept the images to be adored; images of some of their gods, or
of Buddha, or of apotheosised Lāmās. These are sometimes in
metal, gilt, sometimes in clay gaudily painted. Often the artist
has been successful in giving an expression to the face that well
suits the character represented, as for instance the ineffable calm
—a calm that, were it less unmoved, would almost express con-
tempt for everything around—on the countenance of Buddha, or
Sākya Thubba as he is called, the founder of the religion, whose
devotion was continual contemplation of, and whose ideal was ab-
sorption in, the divinity. The room is furnished with
numerous instruments of worship; with bells and lamps, and
sceptres and other emblems, with bags of grain and with bowls
of butter—these last sustaining a wick which constantly burns.
It is hung with banners finely worked in curious devices, and
often the walls are adorned with paintings. The Lāmās periodi- [782]
cally assemble in the image-room to worship with prayers and 562
sacrifices, as of grain, and with music. The people occasionally 778
pass in and bow, and mutter a prayer before some of the images.
No women, I understood, not even nuns attached to the institu-
tion, enter the image-room; they stand and worship at the door-
way. This is the more strange as the Lāmās are not at all

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* These prayer-cylinders are sometimes kept in continual motion by water-power. In a monastery in Nubrā I saw a cylinder, 4 feet in diameter and 6 feet in height, which was made to revolve by a stream of water flowing beneath the floor of the room against floats attached to a continuation of its upright axle.

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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jealous of strangers entering any part of the building, which point of liberality surprises one after meeting with so much exclusiveness in this respect as one does from the different religionists of India.

● 792
In any large family one of the boys was sure to become a Lāmā. First, from an early age, the boy is made a pupil at one of the monasteries; from there he goes to Lhāsa to finish his [178] studies and to be ordained. Latterly boys have not taken so freely to the profession; it seems as if the life of mixed labour, study, meditation, and idleness has less charms for the young than it used to have; or, may be, employment in secular walks is more easy to get. When I was in Ladākh the chief Lāmās [647] were fearing that the supply would fail. In a monastery there are two head Lāmās; one the leader in spiritual matters, the other the manager of its temporal affairs. I had a great deal to do with the *chagzot*, as this latter dignitary is called, of several of the larger monasteries. I found them to be men of genial and amiable disposition, of refined and dignified manners. Some of the *chagzot* had good business powers; to certain of them was entrusted the administration of a small district around their monasteries; the duties of this office most of them performed in such a way as both to satisfy the authorities above them and to keep the people in good heart. The dress of the Lāmās is the woollen gown or *choga*, dyed either red or yellow according to the sect they belong to; the red sect much predominates in Ladākh. They shave their heads, and most of them go without a covering; those of higher rank wear hats of various designs; some have very wide-brimmed red hats [788] made of stiffened felt. Lāmās very commonly carry in their hands a small prayer-cylinder, constructed so as to turn on its handle by the force given to a bullet attached to it by a little chain; the turning of this is equivalent for them to saying one's prayers or telling one's beads.

Some of the monasteries are endowed, some, I think, get help from Lhāsa, but the greater part depend on the alms given them by the villagers. At harvest time the Lāmās receive from the

792 peasantry a goodly, though unfixed, portion of their produce. The monks, in their turn, are always both free in their hospitality to travellers and ready to identify themselves in interests with the villagers.

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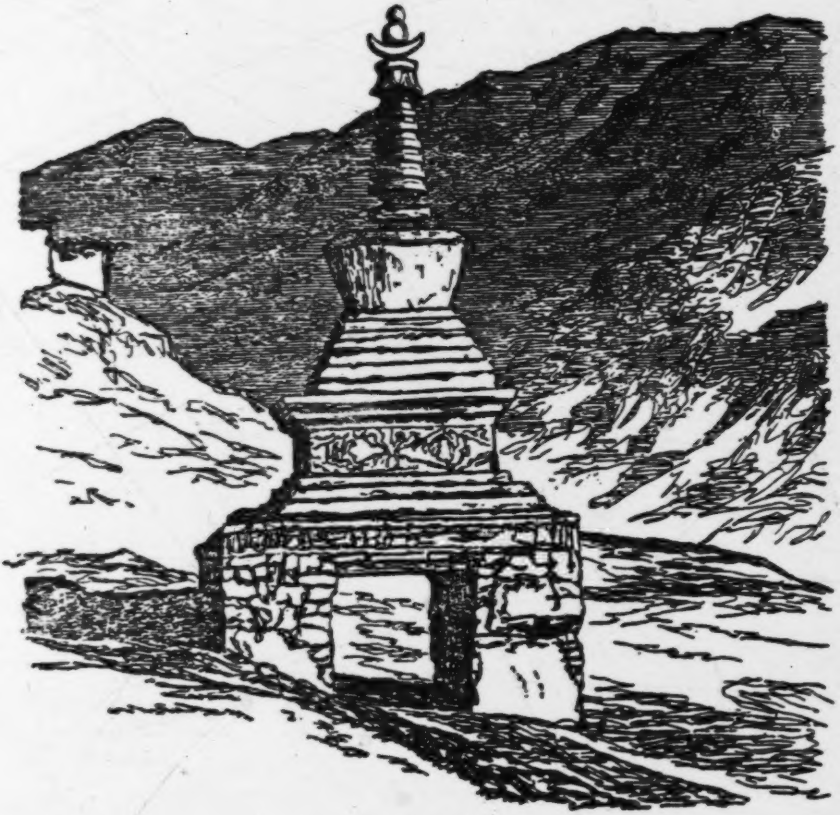
Besides the monasteries, one is everywhere in Ladākh meeting with signs of the people's thought for their religion. In a few places are to be seen colossal figures carved in the rock, that represent some god. The sketch, p. 257, is of one of these, over 25 feet high, which stands for Chamba; this is to be seen in a valley near Sānkho, above Kargil; it is deeply cut in a schistose rock. But much more general are the long and thick built-up



KĀGĀNI, LĀMĀYŪRŪ.

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streams. In one of these tributary valleys is situated Himis 361
monastery, the most noted one in Ladākh, which has 200 Lāmās. /135
The monastery is a large mass of buildings placed just beneath a 792
cliff at a bend of the narrow ravine, and in that way well sheltered.
The wide window spaces and open galleries, and the decorations of
drapery and waving flags make it look quite gay. Close by is a
grove of large spreading poplars, which must be of the oldest trees
in the country.

The last point I have been to in this section of the Indus
Valley is Upshī, a small village at the mouth of the Gyā ravine.
At that place we will count Central Ladākh to end. Above it
is a narrow portion of the valley, which is called *Rong*, where
the river flows between rocks, along which it is difficult to find
a practicable path; still, there also villages occur in the side 311
valleys, and a small population finds cultivable just enough of
land to get a subsistence from.

ROAD FROM LEH TO NUBRĀ.

In going from Central Ladākh to Nubrā (which lies along 487
the banks of the Shāyok River and of a tributary to it) we must /133
of necessity cross the Leh Range by one of two or three Passes.
From Leh a direct road leads up along the stream whose waters
irrigate the lands about that town. The Pass to make for is the
Khardong Pass, which is 17,500 feet high; there is, therefore,
an ascent to be made of 6000 feet. Not easily can this be done
in one day; a half-way halt is almost always made, either at
the last hamlet or farther up in the uninhabited part of the
valley. The path is in places difficult for laden ponies; they
are generally relieved of their loads and are replaced for the
Pass by yāks. The way leads for some miles up the bottom
of the valley, rising at an angle of 5°; then it continues in a
branch valley of steeper gradient, till it reaches the watershed,
which at this spot is a narrow rocky ridge.

A better idea of the form of the mountain range we are now going over than can be given in words will be got from the

221 361 ● [792] With the exception of the Lāmās, the people of the village[1] live on the rock in winter only; for summer they have other dwellings scattered about by their fields, but for warmth in winter they crowd to their old fortress. Here the buildings are crowded so close together, the space occupied is so completely roofed over—pathways and all—that when filled with human beings and with cattle it must indeed be warm.

133x A great part of the rock on which Charāsa is built * is rounded, smoothed, and even polished. It is a *roche moutonnée.* On the smoothed surface there are in several places very distinct grooves or scratches which most clearly denote the movement over it of a glacier. The grooves are to be seen close down to the level of the alluvium and up for more than 100 feet above it. The very summit cannot be examined on account of the buildings; but I have no doubt that the ice of the glacier completely covered it and extended to an enormous thickness above, and at the same time occupied the whole width of the valley, a width, which both here and for some distance up, is about 2½ miles. There is a slight difference in the direction of the scratches on the two sides of the rock. On the east side they are exactly with the run of the valley, namely, about north-north-west, while on the west they run north and south; this shows that the stream of the ice of the glacier separated, and part of it deviated a little, on coming to the obstruction of the rock.

This is by no means the only instance of ice-marks in the valley. A projecting rock about two miles above Charāsa is very distinctly polished and striated. Two rocks projecting out of the fan by the village of Kūrī have the form that denotes ice-moulding; and behind that village we see the same phenomenon extending for 700 feet up the hill-side. On the left bank, at Panimik, are low isolated hills, about 200 feet high, surrounded by the alluvium; they are of a dark metamorphosed slate; everywhere, except at the broken and weathered parts, are they ice-moulded and striated. In one of these little hills is before given show that there is about 100 feet of water between 133x the island and the near shore. 136 This little place, being ordinarily undisturbed by man, is a great resort of the gull, which in Ladākhī is called *Chagharatse*; the surface was nearly all covered with its droppings, and there were hundreds of the young about; most of these must have been hatched near the beginning of July. Having heard that it was a matter of interest with some ornithologists to learn about the nidification of the wild goose,* I was on the look out for information concerning it, and I found that this island is one of the places where it lays its eggs. I was told by the Chāmpās that they find the eggs there just before the ice breaks up—say the beginning of May, after that they have no means of reaching the island; I myself found there a broken egg, but at the time I was on the island (the last week in July) the young had all been hatched. A few days later I followed the same inquiry in the valley of the Salt Lake, and on an earthy island in the fresh-water lake called Panbuk I found a nest where the mother was sitting with some goslings and two eggs, one just breaking with the chick; the other egg I measured and found to be 3¼ inches by 2¼, and very nearly elliptical in form. The nest was a slight hollow, lined with, first, a few bits of a soft herb, then with feathers; I was told that these goose eggs are found also at the edge of the Salt Lake itself.

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* The rock is a hardened, altered, shale, graduating into a crystalline rock, which also I take to be metamorphic.

[1] [i.e, Charāsa, on the Nubra River.--ANALYST]

For man and his followings the banks of Tsomorīrī are inhospitable. The bare rocky or earthy mountains and the stony plains afford little pasture for the flocks. Still the traveller finds patches of grazing ground just near enough for one to go from one to another in a day's march. Karzok, which is the head-quarters of Rupshu, is situated near the shore of the lake. Here is a house and a monastery. The house belongs to the chief man of the district and of the tribe. The monastery is for about thirty- 772 five Lāmās; the building of this under the difficult circumstances of the place, whither every bit of wood had to be carried from far, and the keeping up of it, is creditable to the Rupshu people. There are, besides, eight or ten small houses—mere hovels—where some 361 old and sick remain when the camp has gone to the Indus Valley.

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* The barred-goose; in Ladākhī, *nangpā*.

the higher hill slopes up to 19,000 feet contain hares and marmots, and the beautiful snow leopard (Felis uncia) and the lynx (F. lynx). Knight, in Where Three Empires meet, remarks:-- 136

'Not only man, but also all creatures under his domination --horses, sheep, goats, fowls--are diminutive here, whereas the wild animals on the high mountains are of gigantic size.'

Drew counted as many as 300 kiang in a day's march. In outward appearance the kiang is like a mule, brown in colour with white under the belly, a dark stripe down the back, but no cross on the shoulder. One kiang shot by Drew was 54 inches in height. The flesh is rather like beef. They are common on the Changchenmo, and are met with in many parts of Ladakh, where their curiosity often disconcerts sportsmen by alarming game worth shooting. A curious fact in the fauna of Ladakh is the absence of birds in the higher parts of the country. An occasional raven is the only bird to be seen.

Climate. The climate is very dry and healthy. Rainfall is extremely slight, but fine dry flaked snow is frequent, and sometimes the fall is heavy. There is a remarkable absence of thunder and lightning. The air is invigorating, and all travellers notice the extraordinary extremes of cold and heat. In Rupshu the thermometer falls as low as 9° in September. The minimum temperature of the month is 23.5°, and the mean temperature 43°. As Knight remarks:-- 132

'So thin and devoid of moisture is the atmosphere that the variations of temperature are extreme, and rocks exposed to the sun's rays may be too hot to lay the hand upon, at the same time that it is freezing in the shade. To be suffering from heat on one side of one's body, while painfully cold on the other, is no uncommon sensation here.'

History. The history of Ladakh, until its conquest by Raja Gulab Singh in the first half of the nineteenth century, is intimately connected with Tibet, with which country it still holds commercial and religious relations. Stories are told of invasions in the seventeenth century by the neighbouring Baltis, sometimes successful, sometimes repulsed. About the end of the seventeenth century the Ladakhis called in the aid of the governor of Kashmir to repel the Sokpos, a Mughal tribe. Help was promptly given, and the Sokpos were driven out of Ladakh, after which it paid tribute to Kashmir. Prior to annexation by the Dogras, the government of the country was a mild form of monarchy. The ruler was called Gialpo or king, but the real power rested with the minister or Kahlon. The only

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3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir
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check on the latter was the widespread authority of the 642
monasteries. The chief of these is Himis Gompa, on the left 175
bank of the Indus, 18 miles above Leh. This monastery, 792 ●
which contains 400 to 800 monks and nuns, stands at the head
of a wild glen and covers a considerable space of ground. An [796]
important festival, called the Himis Tsheshū, is held annually
on the tenth day of the fifth month (about June 7), when the
whole country-side flock to the monastery and witness the
weird devil-dance of the Buddhist Lāmas. A constant spec-
tator is the Gialpo of Ladākh. The monastery is believed to
contain great wealth, and the treasure is kept under guard in
order to prevent its being carried over the border to Lhāsa. [778]
The chief shrine is faced entirely with silver plate. Its
treasure-house has small vases filled with pearls, turquoises,
and rubies, said to be of value.

The people.

Leh (population, 2,079) is the only place of importance in 361
Ladākh, and there are besides 463 villages. With the excep- 563
tion of one village of Shiah Musalmāns in Chhachkot, and of
the Arguns or half-breeds, practically the whole population,
excluding the town of Leh, is Buddhist. The people style
themselves Bhots. According to the last Census, there are now
30,216 Buddhists living in Ladākh. They have the Mongolian 144
cast of features, and are strong and well made, ugly, but cheer- 181
ful and good-tempered. If they do quarrel over their barley
beer (*chang*), no bad blood remains afterwards. They are very
truthful and honest, and it is said that in court the accused or
defendant will almost invariably admit his guilt or acknowledge
the justice of the claim.

There are five main castes (*riks*): the Rgrial *riks*, or ryot 564
caste; the Trangzey *riks*, or priestly caste; the Rjey *riks*, or
high officials; the Hmang *riks*, or lower officials and agricultural
classes; and the Tolbay *riks*, or artificers and musicians. This
last caste, also known as Bem, is considered inferior.

The Ladākhis may be divided into the Champas or nomads, 463
who follow pastoral pursuits on the upland valleys, too high 241
for cultivation; and the Ladākhis proper, who have settled in 511
the valley and the side valleys of the Indus, cultivating with
great care every patch of cultivable ground. These two [582]
classes do not, as a rule, intermarry, and Champas rarely
furnish recruits to the monasteries. The Ladākhis are
mostly engaged in agriculture, and in spite of the smallness of
their holdings they are fairly prosperous. Their great wants [372]
are fuel and timber. For fuel they use cow-dung and the
bush known as *burtse*. Their only timber trees are the [313]
scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.

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scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses. 511

595 428 586 [147] There can be little doubt that the modest prosperity of the Ladākhis, in contrast to the universal poverty of Baltistān, is due to the practice of polyandry, which acts as a check on population. Whereas the Baltis, used to the extremes of temperature, are able to seek employment in hot countries, the Ladākhis would die if they were long away from their peculiar climate. In a family where there were many brothers, the younger ones could neither marry nor go abroad for their living. When the eldest son marries, he takes possession of the little estate, making some provision for his parents and unmarried sisters. The eldest son has to support the two brothers next him in age, who share his wife. The children of the marriage regard all three husbands as father. If there be more than two younger brothers, they must go out as Lāmas to a monastery, or as coolies; or, if he be fortunate, a younger son can marry [582] an heiress, and become a Magpa. (If there is no son in a family the daughter inherits, and can choose her own husband, and dismiss him at will with a small customary present. The Magpa husband is thus always on probation, as the heiress can discard him without any excuse or ceremony of divorce.) When the eldest dies or becomes a Lāma, the next brother takes his place. But the wife, provided there are no children, can get rid of his brothers. She ties her finger by a thread to the finger of her deceased husband. The thread is broken, [562] and she is divorced from the corpse and the surviving brothers. The woman in Ladākh has great liberty and power. She can, if she likes, add to the number of her husbands. Drew, who had a very intimate knowledge of Ladākh, thinks that polyandry has had a bad effect on the women, making them overbold and shameless. But others, who are equally entitled to form an opinion, consider this an unfair criticism.

563 588 [567] In the town of Leh are many families of half-castes known as Arguns, the results of the union between Ladākhi women and Kashmīris, Turkī caravan-drivers, and Dogrās. The Dogrā children were known as Ghulāmzādas, and were bondmen to the State. The half-castes of Leh are no more unsatisfactory in Tibet than elsewhere, and many travellers have testified to the good qualities of the Argun.

● 792 [361] The monasteries (*Gompa*) play an important part in the life of the Ladākhis. Nearly every village has its monastery, generally built in a high place difficult of access. At the entrance are prayer cylinders, sometimes worked by water-

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir
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power, and inside a courtyard is a lofty square chamber in which the images and instruments of worship are kept. No women may enter this chamber. Every large family sends one of its sons to the monastery as a Lāma. He goes young as a pupil, and finishes his studies at Lhāsa. In a monastery there are two head Lāmas: one attends to spiritual, the other to temporal matters. The latter is known as the *Chagzot* or *Nupa*. He looks after the revenue of the lands which have been granted to the monastery, carries on a trade of barter with the people, and supervises the alms given by the villagers. He also enters into money-lending and grain transactions with the surrounding villages. Many monasteries receive subsidies from Lhāsa. The Lāmas wear a woollen gown dyed either red or yellow. The red Lāmas predominate in Ladākh. The red sect known as Drukpas are not supposed to marry while in the priesthood. Nunneries are frequently found near the monasteries of both sects, but the *Chomos*, or nuns of the yellow sect, have a higher character than those of the red sisterhood. About a sixth of the population of Ladākh is absorbed in religious houses. The Lāmas are popular in the country, are hospitable to travellers, and are always ready to help the villagers. 792 [795] [162]

Christian missions. 797

There are two missions at Leh—the Moravian and the Roman Catholic. The Moravian Mission is an old and excellent institution, much appreciated by the people for its charity and devotion in times of sickness. The mission has a little hospital, whither the Ladākhis, whose eyes suffer from the dustiness of the air and the confined life in the winter, flock in great numbers.

Agriculture. 241

The soil is sandy, and requires careful manuring, and nothing can be raised without irrigation. The chief crops are wheat, barley, beardless barley, peas, rapeseed, and beans in the spring; buckwheat, millets, and turnips in the autumn. Lucerne grass is grown for fodder. The surface soil is frequently renovated by top-dressings of earth brought from the hill-sides, and it is a common practice to sprinkle earth on the snow in order to expedite its disappearance. Fruit and wood are scarce, except in villages situated on the lower reaches of the Indus.

Beardless barley (*grim*) is the most useful crop, and can be grown at very high elevations (15,000 feet). In the middle of Ladākh the crop is secure if there be sufficient water; and in the lower villages the soil is cropped twice a year, as there is ample sunshine; but in Zāskār, which is near the high snowy

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir

W. Tibetans AJ4
Balti AV2

The land revenue system in the past has been of a very arbitrary description, the basis of assessment being the holding or the house. The size of the holding or the quality of the soil receives little consideration. Taken collectively, it has perhaps not been heavy, though the rates are considerably higher than those now applied in Baltistān; but its incidence has been unfair, oppressive to the poor, and very easy to the rich. A redistribution of the old assessments on a more equitable principle, and a summary revision where the assessments were obviously too high or unnecessarily light, have recently been carried out by a British official lent to the State. The greater part of the revenue is paid in cash, but some is taken in grain and wood, which are necessary for the supply of the Central Asian traders. The grain is stored at convenient places on the caravan route in the charge of officials who sell to the traders. But for this system trade would be hampered; for after leaving the Nubra valley and crossing the Karakoram range no fodder is available on the Yārkand road till Shāhidullah in Chinese territory is reached, and grain for feeding animals must be carried from Nubra. The strain of forced labour is heavy in Ladākh. Not only is unpaid transport taken for political missions, assistance to the trade route, &c., but several monasteries are allowed to impress unpaid labour for trading purposes.

Land revenue.

WT 151 [161]

WT [441]

Agricultural advances, chiefly seed-grain, are made for the most part not by the State, but by the monasteries, and the poorer classes are heavily in debt to the religious institutions. These are not harsh creditors. When the debtor is hopelessly involved, the monastery takes possession of half of his land for a period of three years. If the debt is not liquidated within three years, the land is restored to the debtor and the debt written off. The monastery will never sue a debtor, nor is land ever permanently alienated for debt.

WT 426 792

Baltistān.—A tract under the Wazīr Wazārat of Ladākh, Kashmīr, also known as Little Tibet, lying approximately between 34° and 36° N. and 75° and 77° E. It is bounded on the north by the Muztāgh range and Nagar; on the east by Ladākh; on the south by Kashmīr, Wardwān, and Zāskār; and on the west by Gilgit and Astor. The tract is situated in the midst of enormous mountain ranges with peaks of 25,000 and 26,000 feet, and one above 28,000 feet, and glaciers which are the largest known out of Polar regions. The villages cling to the river valleys, the most important of which are the Indus, the Shyok, and the Shigar, together with the Drās and

Physical aspects.

B 642 131

B 133 361

346
792

Photo by] [*G. W. Millais.*

MULBE MONASTERY.

A Lama on the look-out.

[frontispiece]

CHAPTER XVII

A TRIP TO LADAKH (*continued*)

792 SOME little time before we reached Mulbe we had
292 heard noises like the bellowings of the bulls o
574 Bashan, for they seemed to be more than ordinary
534 bellowings. As we turned the corner we heard other sounds, such as the beating of drums and cymbals and squealing flageolets, and then came into view the monastery band. The monks were dressed up in their best red garments, with most curious and awe-inspiring headgear, consisting of huge red-cloth helmet-looking erections which gave the band a very smart and martial appearance. The trumpets which bellowed and brayed so loudly were of copper, about seven or eight feet in length, truly colossal.

Then came the abbot of the monastery with his following of monks, together with the great people of Mulbe, to welcome the Commissioner Sahib. They brought presents of food and large jugs of home-made cider, called "chang."

782 At Mulbe there is an inscription of King Ides abolishing living sacrifices. This was not, however, obeyed, and the people continued to sacrifice goats before the pre-Buddhist altars, tearing out the heart of the living animal.
[113] (See Dr E. F. Neve's book, *Beyond the Pir Punjal.*)

526 In the afternoon we were entertained by a game of polo, for every big village has its polo ground, which is generally kept in good order, the grass being kept green by irrigation.

346 as it is going to fall into the lake and be lost in the ocean
788 of water [*i.e.* be lost in Nirvana]."

346 Monks roam over the country doing this pious carving
788 work for those who will pay them. Merit not only comes
• 792 to the men who place these stones on the wall, but to all
778 those travellers who pass on the left side of the wall, and
curses on those who pass on the wrong side. Hence there is no need of a policeman to tell all traffic to keep to the left; all travellers do it as if mechanically, and heap up to themselves merit.

Then on the road one continually passes "chortans," stone pagodas generally white-washed, and not only on the road, but dotted about in the fields and up the mountain-sides. They are of all sizes from three to forty feet high. They are hollow, and in them one will often find clay medallions vulgarly called potted lamas, for they are composed of the ashes of the monks, which have been stamped with the monastery stamps, not unlike prettily stamped pats of butter. Some of the stamps are very decorative, generally with the figure of Buddha in the centre of a circle, with writing around.

On the tops of the houses and on trees one sees bunches of flags made of coloured rags on which is inscribed this same prayer. When the flags flutter in the breeze this prayer ascends for the good of the individual who placed these rags to be moved by the wind.

As we pass through a village we see little paper windmills on the roofs which work a prayer wheel inside the house. This is a metal cylinder crammed full of paper on which is written hundreds of times this one prayer: "Om mane padme hun."

788 Along the walls of certain houses and always at the monasteries are found these cylinders of wood let into the wall at a convenient height from the ground to allow

CHAPTER XVIII

A TRIP TO LADAKH (*continued*)

792 788 574 346 LET us now visit a monastery. As usual, as we approached Lamauru, we were met by much noise and dust. The monastery band evidently was on the war-path, from the terrific braying and tom-tomming that greeted us, and the crowd of monastery dignitaries and village magnates kicked up much dust as they approached. We were taken round the monastery by the head ecclesiastic. We climbed the stone stairway to the monastery, which, as usual, was situated on the top of a cliff, built on to and into it in such a way that it was not easy to see where rock ended and the building commenced. Along the side of the stairway were rows of prayer wheels let into the wall, which we set spinning in the orthodox manner. At least I hope we did spin them the right and not the wrong way. I think we must have spun them round the right way, for our journey was prosperous. The chapel was full of interesting objects, and one did not know quite what to look at, for there seemed to be, and there was, such a crowd of interesting objects which I had never seen before. 353 The building was like a hall, the roof supported by 778 wooden pillars, with a gallery all round, from which hung a profusion of silk banners of Chinese design, chiefly dragons. On one side of the hall was a row of coloured figures, life-size, of Buddha and sainted lamas, which were arrayed in rich silks. Before each figure was a table or altar of very curious design, coloured with

bright red, green, yellow and gold, carved with dragons 778
and sacred symbols. 353

On the tables were metal cups and goblets, and on 782
each table was a basin of holy water, an oil lamp burning, 534
the chalice for the "chang" (cider) and paten for the bread, a "dorje" (a prettily carved brass or silver dumb-bell-looking article used by the priest during part of the service), also a little drum often made of a human skull sawn off at the top to allow for the skin to be stretched. There were also some goblets made of human skulls, and a human thigh-bone used as a trumpet.

Down the middle of the chapel are low benches in lines, 346
end on to the row of figures, on which the monks kneel 792
facing the altars as they read their sacred books. On 796
the left side of the chapel are rows of copper beakers full of chang, from which the monks refresh themselves when they become sleepy over their much reading. Then on the left wall are shelves in which their books are kept. These are long strips of paper or parchment manuscripts.

There are five chapels kept each day. When any great person dies the monks are paid to read through a certain number of their holy books. They each take so many pages, and read through them aloud, all together, each one reading something different, so there must be a fair volume of sound. I do not know if volume of sound has any value and so adds to the merit of reading so many thousands of words.

These people have evidently thought out a truly 788
mechanical way to salvation. When electric power reaches Ladakh and prayer wheels are worked by motors, merit will speed up a great deal and Nirvana will be
within reach of all. The chapel needed much cleaning. 344
There was an overwhelming smell of lamp oil, or burning 792

346 fat; grease pervaded the atmosphere, in fact everything
792 the monks touched, for they were filthily dirty, their
red garments being more or less black with grease.
Fortunately their heads were shorn. They seemed to be
a happy lot of brothers, always ready to laugh and joke,
in fact, just like the pictures of the monks of the West
in days gone by.

792 There are nuns who live in separate buildings. Many of them are so like the monks that it is difficult to tell one from the other, at least to an unpractised eye, as the following incident will show.

797 A few days later I was in Leh with Dr Neve. He was in the hospital helping people to get well quickly. I stayed outside to try and cheer up the patients who were waiting their turn outside, as many of them seemed to be rather nervous and frightened. I noticed one person who seemed to look very depressed, who I thought was a monk and not living up to his usual jovial self, so I poked him in the ribs and told him to cheer up, when a voice called out to me from behind, but too late: "Take care what you are doing, for that lady is a nun." It was a Moravian missionary who spoke too late. Well, I did all that an English gentleman could do. I apologised most humbly, but the nun would not have any, and I failed to cheer her up.

361 Well, our triumphal march to the capital, Leh (a town
162 with a population of 3000 in the winter, which grows to
6000 in the summer, when all the traders from east and
west come in), was as entertaining as it was interesting.
574 Monastery bands, town bands, feasts and polo matches
succeeded one another, but the reception given to the
Commissioner Sahib at Leh was the culmination of great
doings. Seven miles from Leh, in the valley of the Indus,
a large sandy plain, there met us a great cavalcade of

788 riding on the same pony, an old lady and a pretty, rosy-
576 cheeked damsel, and they smiled and nodded to us as we passed them. We thought they must be very up-to-date women, when all of a sudden we remembered that they had been our hostesses some days previously, for a certain Tibetan nobleman and his wife and daughter had entertained us at tea. But there was good reason for our not recognising them, for it is the custom for all respectable ladies to cover their faces with mud, so that these noble ladies with whom we drank tea were brown with mud, whilst these smiling ladies on horseback had beautiful rosy cheeks. Apparently when on a pilgrimage they need not wear this unbecoming veil of mud.

346 It took us two days to reach Hemis. The monastery
792 is situated in a very narrow valley on the side of a mountain and not on the top as is usually the case, and to this fact, I am told, the monastery owes its escape from plunder when the country was invaded by Sikhs. This monastery is a very rich one and possesses stores of rich Chinese silks and jewels. The abbot showed us a great many of his treasures.

346 The play took place in a very fine courtyard, the
792 monastery towering above one like a huge castle, a very
776 impressive building. It contains three hundred monks,
535 who wear yellow robes and are superior to the red-robed ones. The play lasts for the whole of one day and till noon on the second day, with no interlude, and is wearying to a degree. The idea of the play is to teach the
[775] people the power of the monks in future life. They act all the known, or rather unknown, horrors of hell and the only way of salvation through the holiness of the monks. Not a word is spoken; it is taught entirely by sight.

796 The acting is guided by the monastery band as to time,
533 fervour, quietness, tempest, hell fire or death. The band
535